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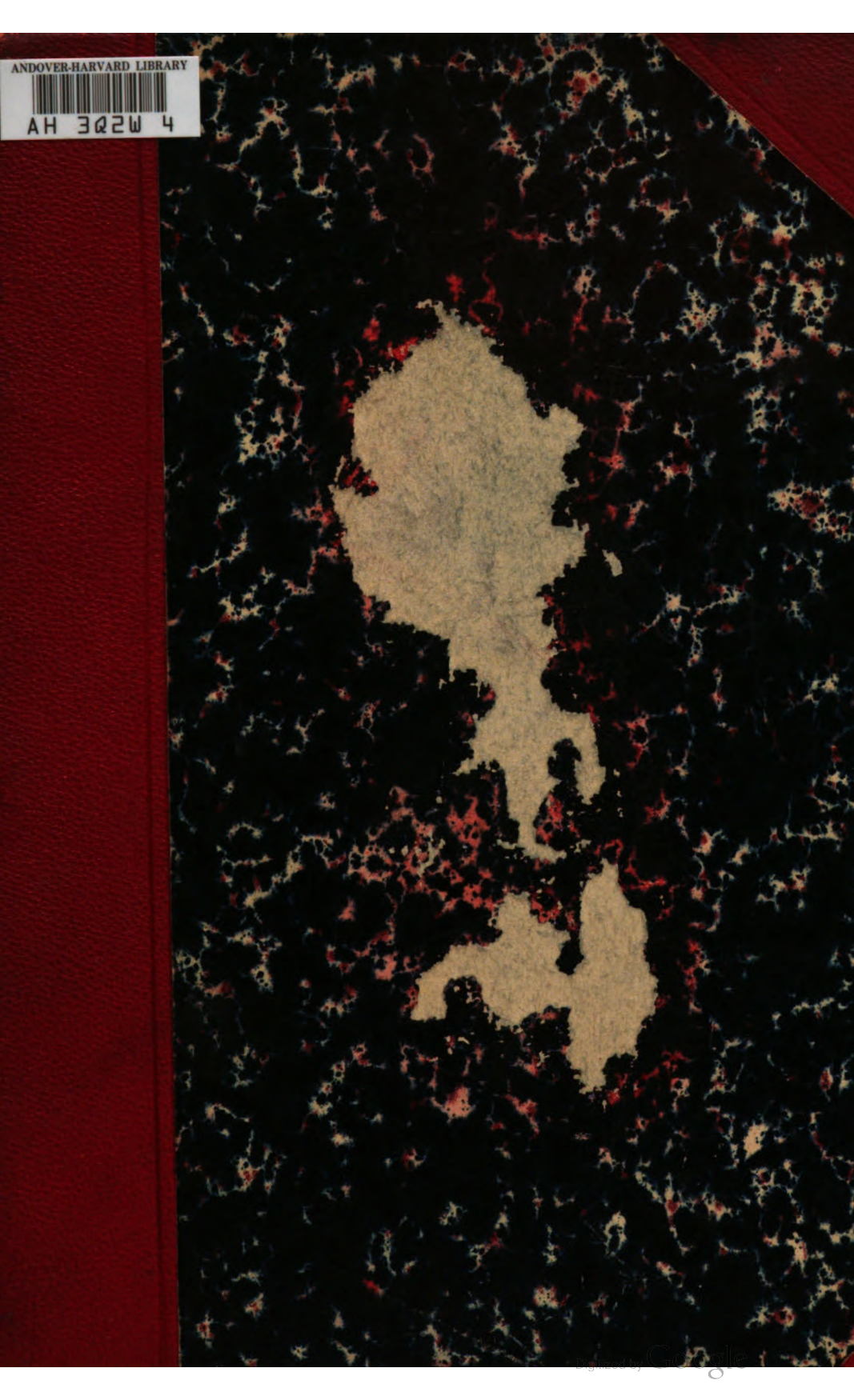
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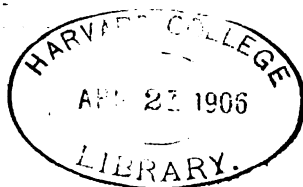
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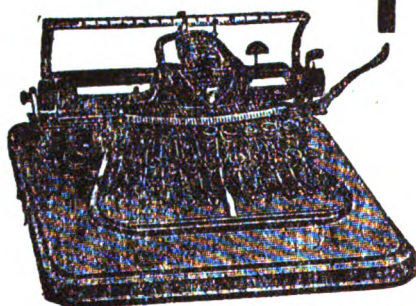
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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things ?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1905.

No. 1.

A PREFATORY NOTE.

In the settled conviction that ignorance, not knowledge, is the enemy of Christianity, we seek the fullest light from every source to reveal the firm foundations of our Faith. The history of the race and the experience of the heart assure us that Christianity is a living Faith, and this double witness makes us fear no facts, and court investigation.

Scientific processes have wrung her secrets from nature : the historic method has shed new light upon the ancient literatures, and patient research in archæology has caused the dim and far-off past to live afresh.

Science has brought us new ideas of our Faith's past history, criticism has altered the literary aspects of our sacred books, and archæology has revealed a Past peopled with nations that were civilised and great.

A silent but sure revolution has been at work and many have dreaded the changes it has wrought. But truth has cleared the air and the Christian Faith rises still supreme with broader base and loftier summit than in the days of old.

In accordance with this attitude it is our aim, as occasion may arise, to dwell upon those facts of science, literature and archæology which bear relation to the Bible or affect the Christian Faith ; to discuss the questions they have raised, and seek their true solution.

Our ultimate aim is construction, not destruction, and we know no means to attain this end but fidelity to truth. Where we succeed the reward is rich : where we fail we crave indulgence.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Our Lord and the Old Testament.

None can study the life of Our Lord without being struck by the high value He sets upon the Old Testament Scriptures. With a clearness of vision never equalled, He traced the working of a Divine Providence in the history of the Jewish race ; He entered into the spirit of the prophets and grasped the significance of their mission and teaching in a way which severed Him from the sympathy of an age which had lost the substance in the form. It was the Scriptures which unfolded to Him the dealings of God with prophet and priest, with law-giver and patriarch, and He prized the Scriptures. His emphatic declaration that they should not pass away until all things should be accomplished, was the outcome of His unshaken conviction that they were the record of God's dealings with men, and that their purpose must be fulfilled before they were superseded.

Our Lord's words have given a sanction to the value we place upon the Old Testament, and none may deprive the Church of its treasure. The page whence the Master Himself drew consolation and joy must ever be dear to the disciple ; but not one whit the less is he bound to examine with patient care, the tests by which his Lord tries its teaching and corrects its morality. None have shed upon its pages a more searching

light than He, and none have more fully emphasised its limitations. Nay, it was He who showed that it was no longer a safe guide in many matters of morals and religion. Its morality was often suited to days when the moral sense of man was young and weak, as its science was suited to the childhood of the human race.

In its most vital features then, in its presentation of moral and religious ideas, our Lord has criticised its contents. He tested the Scriptures by an eternal standard of moral and religious truth. A verse which contains a truth remains authoritative for the truth which it enshrines, and not merely because it has a place in the Scriptures. Indeed He teaches that all verses are not authoritative; some He even declares to be imperfect and absolutely unsafe as moral guides. Read again His words, 'Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil.' Or again, 'Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies.' There is no need to multiply instances; His whole life shows that the past morality no longer rules. It had been the stepping-stone to better things. It was not the goal, it was the road thither. It was not the final revelation, but it traced the gradual unfolding of the knowledge of God.

Our Lord's strictures on the men of little faith and small spiritual life who clung to the Old in face of the New, and who saw no possibility of progress in knowledge, brought Him in violent conflict with the Pharisees who treated the Law as a fetish. His fearless criticism had made them passionate in their opposition: they had fiercely branded Him as a transgressor of the Law, a despiser of the temple and one who set at nought the Jewish religion.

As with the Master, so must it be with the disciple. In His ministry He taught broad principles and strove to awaken a new way of viewing life. He patiently encouraged His

disciples and those around Him to examine the Old Testament writings and prescriptions. He urged men to criticise, and the sequel has shown how radical was the change that His methods wrought. Consider how completely the Old Testament conceptions of the Sabbath, of fasting, or of meats, clean and unclean, were made null and void. The old teaching on these matters must give place to the new as surely as the old thoughts about the sun and the earth, about ethnology and geography, have been compelled to yield to fuller knowledge and to patient research.

Yes, our Lord, though He fully recognised its value, had criticised the Old and walked in the light of the New, and His every act and His every teaching are an encouragement to His disciples to follow His footsteps. Such an attitude is essential to progress in a wide and a true sense of the word. Dare we not follow whither He leads? or shall any deprive us of the right He gives?

The Reunion of Christendom.

‘The desire for the reunion of Christendom is implanted by God Himself.’ In these words at the recent Church Congress the Bishop of Liverpool expressed the thought of many hearts. If in our day one feeling is more prominent than the rest, it is regret at the evils of division and longing for the harmony which the Founder of the Christian faith enjoined, and which forms the basis of St. Paul’s ideal, but not impossible, picture in his Epistle to the Corinthians. Two quotations show the practical tendency of this wish as it is applied in opposite directions.

The Archbishop of York in his address to the Congress said “I venture to trust . . . that we shall be able to “enlarge our sympathies and our brotherly feelings in the “time to come even beyond the bounds of the Church of “England. There are tens of thousands of devout Christians, “although not Churchmen, living around us, fulfilling “in their own way, which is not quite our way, the duties

“which they owe to God and to their neighbours. We trust the day is not far distant when we shall stand more closely, shoulder to shoulder, in the great battlefield of truth, not unwisely but lovingly, with one great object in our hearts, shown forth in our words and in our lives. . . . I love to think that many of you to whom I speak may see the fulfilment of what has been to me only a dream, but a dream from which I should not find it easy or even desirable that I should awake.” At the same Congress the President, though he felt bound sadly to confess that ‘union with Rome, as Rome is at present, would postpone indefinitely the reunion of Christendom,’ assures us ‘that no sacrifice must be spared to attain it, except the sacrifice of truth.’

Practical men who are not content with desire but look for action have tried by many means to reach the goal they have in view, with varying success. An example of the attitude which seems to us most likely to achieve its end is found in some remarks upon the subject which were lately made by the Bishop of Worcester, who uttered a warning and pointed a way. He dreads any attempts at premature reunion which ignore the real causes of separation; and this undoubtedly is wise, for the wound which heals from without leaves the disease to strike deeper within. The way he suggests is practical and has promise of success. He advises co-operation, alike with other religious bodies in promoting social reform; and with individuals, scholars, and students of all denominations, in the study of the Holy Scriptures. In either case men will stand upon a common ground and have a mutual interest. In either case they will approach more nearly to the truth they seek, and the distance which divides them will grow less. The truth is one, and nearing it they near a common centre.

The study of the Holy Scriptures and the discussion of social problems is the two-fold aim of *The Interpreter*, and we venture to hope that in some measure its pages will not hinder but will rather help towards the harmony we fain would see.

Delitzsch's "Babel and Bible."

One is safe in saying that few popular books written in reference to religious questions have caused so great consternation or so grave perplexity as Professor Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel*. This volume embodies two lectures delivered, by a German Professor of Assyriology, before the German Emperor in the two successive years, 1902 and 1903.

None will deny to Professor Delitzsch a place in the very foremost rank of Assyriologists. The facts he sets forth are the result of years of patient labour and he groups them with a studied care. The Rev. C. H. W. Johns, the English translator of *Babel und Bibel*, wisely points out that Delitzsch's opponents 'will not be well advised to quarrel with the facts.' As a well-known Assyriologist himself, Mr. Johns' words should be carefully considered when he says that Professor Delitzsch's book is a statement of facts which is wonderfully clear if we consider the narrow compass in which it is set forth.

The theories, however, by which an investigator brings his newly-discovered facts into line with kindred facts are not necessarily of the same high value as the discoveries themselves. That this is Mr. Johns' view no careful reader of his preface to *Babel and Bible* can have failed to notice. For while in one place we read 'it is not an editor's function to reply to the arguments or opinions advanced in the work he edits, nor even to suppress or modify them, but to endeavour to place them as fairly as can be before the reader,' we may also hear him say elsewhere, 'whether the qualifications which make a man a successful investigator are always associated with those that enable a man to take a just view of the whole subject and its bearing upon other cognate subjects, may be doubted.' In the paper he contributes to our present issue Mr. Johns seeks to build, upon the same facts, a theory which is vitally different from that which Professor Delitzsch would have us accept.

Babel and Bible contains an account of recent Babylonian discoveries and their relation to the Old Testament. Its author

tells us in his opening chapter, 'Now that the pyramids have opened and the Assyrian palaces have disclosed themselves to view, the People of Israel with their writings appear one of the youngest among their neighbours.' He then proceeds to show in detail the unmistakable influence which Babylonian ideas and customs, Babylonian laws and tradition, have exerted upon the history, the writings and the traditions of Israel. In fact he would have us believe that nothing original has come from Israel; that Babylon was the source of all, and that revelation and inspiration are no longer needed to account for the Jewish Sacred Literature.

It is with this conclusion and not with the facts—although even these seem to be set forth in a light rather too advantageous to the Professor's purpose—that we draw issues. Mr. Johns does not shirk the facts though he reaches a different conclusion. His paper, too long for one number, will be continued in another issue. We cannot leave the subject without giving a final quotation from his preface. 'Men,' he says, 'accepted what they were told as babies. As men they need to put away childish things. They are babies still if they accept what is told them with no more effort to examine and verify. To throw aside all and henceforth believe nothing is as childish as before.'

Ethical Criticism.

The questions which literary criticism, scientific discovery, and archæological research have raised are pressing and demand solution, but there are other questions, equally urgent and no less perplexing, which continually confront us. On every hand weighty social and economic problems await attention, and we shirk them at our peril. The times move quickly on, and change follows change with a rapidity unknown in earlier days. How are we to apply to the ever-changing conditions of human life the principles which Jesus Christ taught by the words which He spake, and illustrated in His life on earth? It is of primary importance that we should interpret His words by His life, for thus alone shall we escape a false deduction.

‘To him that asketh of you give.’ These are simple words, but we need clearly to understand the teaching they were meant to convey, or we shall find that a literal obedience often leads to the demoralisation of the recipient of our bounty. Here, as elsewhere, the life of Jesus Christ throws the clearest light upon His precepts, and by observing how He gave, we too may learn to give true help to those that ask.

Only within the last few months severe criticism has been passed upon the charitable schemes which have supplied to working men in crowded towns clean and comfortable housing accommodation at a trifling cost. Some who themselves have worked earnestly at social problems declare that the effort has tended to discourage marriage, with its attendant cares, and, by lowering the cost of living, has lowered the standard of effort in those who have chosen the easier path prepared for them. The total loss or gain in this particular instance has by no means been settled as yet, but in no case are we absolved from the responsibility of relieving distress, and if one method fails we must seek another with better prospect of success. Distress cries for help, and help must be given. This is the plain command. The only difficulty is to discover how to apply it. It is a discovery which involves labour, experiment, and knowledge of the conditions which give rise to the distress. It is to be achieved by a practical research, in which all can take a part.

Japan and Christianity.

The Greeks, the Romans and the Teutons have left their mark on Christianity. They brought to it a character which in each case was unique and had resulted from the development, during long ages, of some dominant idea. This idea found a home in the religion of Jesus Christ and was able to call forth from it an unsuspected force which had long lain latent. The intellectual subtleties of the Greek, the legal mind of the Roman, and the liberty of the Teuton, all left their mark upon the common faith. A combination of the three is our noble heritage and the Church grows richer as her borders spread.

But there are other races beyond the lands of Greek, of Roman, and of Teuton. There are ancient nations in the East, and these must add their contributions to the common store of human wealth, for no waste exists in the Providence which guides the life of men. The lessons they have learnt will prove a blessing to mankind. Christianity has a mission to the East and the East will bring to light new views of Christianity. What these new views will be we do not know, we cannot even guess; the future is jealous of her secrets. But we seem to have come within measurable distance of a change. A nation in the East, till yesterday unknown, has sprung with startling suddenness to a place of foremost rank among the nations. She has virtues which command the widest praise—a courage and a patriotism unsurpassed. Other forces she has which we feel but are unable to define.

The Christian Church dare not ignore this new factor in the world's history. The East is viewing the West with critical eye. It is her professed determination to absorb the best in the new while retaining the excellence of the old. This she has done in commerce and in war, in craft and statesmanship; nor will it be otherwise in morals and religious faith. The Church has need to set in order her own house that when the East comes to seek a better faith she may find in Christianity the nobler way she sought. Shall we let her see jealousy and strife? Shall we let her see a selfish ease which leaves misery unrelieved and cruelty ignored?

It is not unusual in a nation's life to see divisions disappear and corruptions cease, when all are banded on a common enterprise and struggling for a common life. It may be that from her struggles with the ancient Eastern faiths, a purer Christianity will emerge. The essential and the permanent will be retained, and the rest will fall away as leaves in the autumn fall from the living tree.

THE PERMANENT RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In an article such as the present, it is hardly necessary to say, it is impossible to treat a subject like this with any approach to completeness. All that I can do is to suggest briefly for the reader's consideration some of its more salient aspects, leaving him to fill in details, and supply omissions, from the knowledge of the Old Testament which he possesses himself. I shall, therefore, without further preface, proceed to summarize the chief heads under which, as it seems to me, the elements of permanent religious value in the Old Testament may be grouped, and so indicate the grounds which, even while its contents are judged by a critical standard, must ever, I believe, secure for it a position and influence in the Church, second only to those possessed by the New Testament itself.

I. The first and primary claim, then, to permanent religious value which the Old Testament possesses consists in the surprisingly lofty and elevated conceptions of God which prevail in it—conceptions, moreover, which appeal more strongly, and are more satisfying, to the religious instincts of mankind than those which are to be found in any other literature, save only in that of the New Testament. Of course, when this is said, it must be remembered that the revelation of God contained in the Old Testament advanced by stages and was gradual; and this being the case, it must at once be frankly admitted that in parts of the Old Testament there is an accommodation to the immature stage of religious belief which the people had reached; and that sometimes the narratives, and even occasionally the prophecies, are coloured by the specifically

national, or, as they are sometimes called, 'particularistic' features which were a result of the often hostile and antagonistic relations in which Israel stood to the heathen nations around it. But when every deduction has been made on these accounts, it remains that the general conception of God presented by the Old Testament is singularly dignified, lofty, and spiritual. To take but one or two examples. The science of the first chapter of Genesis is the science of the age in which the chapter was written; but upon this imperfect, and in many respects false, science, its author, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, has grafted a wonderfully sublime and spiritual representation of the Sovereign Author of nature, conceiving and presenting Him as a purely spiritual Being, Who, moulding the material substance of the universe to His will, adapts the world gradually, by successive stages, to become the abode of lower and higher forms of life, and (ultimately) of beings endowed with reason, and Who assigns to every living species upon it its proper office and function. The science of this chapter is antiquated; but the representation of the Divine action contained in it is not, and can never become, antiquated; it must ever remain as one of the priceless heirlooms which the people of Israel have bequeathed to the world. And so when we pass to the 2nd and 3rd chapters of the same book, though, it is true, we can hardly, any more than in the first chapter, be reading a literal history, we have brought before us, in a pictorial or symbolical form, adapted to the comprehension of the men for whose spiritual instruction the narrative was first written, deep thoughts about God and man—how man was created by God, and placed by Him in a position designed to develop his capabilities, and test his character; how he was at first innocent; how he became—as man must have become, whether in 'Eden' or elsewhere, at some period of his existence—conscious of a moral law, but how temptation fell upon him, and he broke it. The fall of man, the great and terrible truth, the reality of which is evidenced both by history and by

individual experience, is thus vividly and impressively brought home to each one of us. Man, however, the sequel teaches us, though punished by God, is not forsaken by Him, nor left, in his long conflict with evil, without hope of victory. The representation of God in these chapters is much more anthropomorphic than that in ch. i., and is evidently the expression of a more primitive stage of religious thought; a series of sensible acts is attributed to Him; He *plants, takes, sets, &c.*, and the sound of His footsteps is heard as He walks in the garden; but even the reader of the present age does not feel that the fact at all materially detracts from the essentially spiritual character of the fundamental teaching which the narrative contains.

But we must leave the historical books and pass on to consider briefly what some of the prophets teach on the same subject. Amos, the earliest of the canonical prophets, proclaims that Jehovah, though He is in a special sense the God of Israel, is at the same time the God of all the families of the earth, under Whose providence the Philistines migrated from Caphtor just as Israel migrated out of Egypt, Who views all nations with an impartial eye, and visits Edom or Moab for its sin not less than Israel, and Israel, in spite of His choice of it, not less than Edom and Moab. Hosea is the prophet of religious emotion: his own nature is one of love; and Jehovah is to him pre-eminently the God of love, Who has cherished His 'son' with tenderness and affection, Who is grieved by the coldness with which His love is requited, but Who still loves His nation even while he finds Himself obliged to cast it from Him. Isaiah dwells upon the holiness and majesty of Jehovah; and in imposing imagery, such as he alone among the prophets can command, depicts Him as manifesting Himself against all that is 'proud and lofty' in Judah, as controlling from His throne in heaven the movements of the nations, or as striking down in storm and tempest the serried hosts of Assyria. And the great prophet of the Exile, the author of the discourses which now form chapters xl.—lxvi. of the book of Isaiah,

preaches in language more exalted and impressive than is to be found in any other part of the Bible, the transcendence, the omnipotence, the infinitude of Israel's God, the First and the Last, the sole Creator and Sustainer of the Universe, Whose throne is indeed in the height of Heaven, but Who stands, nevertheless, in intimate relation with the earth, Who is the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, but Who dwells also with the humble and contrite heart, and Who has moreover His purposes of grace, which though they are directed with special affection towards Israel, comprehend within their ultimate scope all the kindreds of the earth.

The idea of God, presented in these and other passages of the Old Testament, is not arrived at by a process of philosophic abstraction; it is the result, we can only suppose, of a Divinely quickened intuition, which enabled the inspired thinkers and seers of Israel gradually to elevate and purify their conception of Him, and to discern, as history moved on, and their own spiritual perceptions were enlarged, new aspects of His being. To sum up, in very general terms, the teaching of the Old Testament on the nature and attributes of God, we may say that it represents Him as a personal Being, Who, though depicted under the most anthropomorphic imagery, is, nevertheless considered always as purely spiritual; Who possesses a definite moral character, and is all-holy, all-just, and all-wise; Who condescends to enter into relations of grace with His intelligent creatures; Who loves man, and will in turn be loved by him; Whose anger is aroused by sin, but Who is gracious towards the repentant sinner; Who manifests Himself in His redemptive purpose to Israel, and teaches His nation ever gradually to know Him better, and Who deigns in the end to make known His salvation to the nations of the world at large.

II. Secondly, the Old Testament is of permanent value on account of the clearness and emphasis with which it proclaims the duty of man, both towards God and towards his fellow-men. Love and reverence, obedience and gratitude, penitence for sin

and humility—these are in brief to be the determining principles of man's attitude towards God. Passages illustrating what has been said will occur to every reader of these pages. For our present purpose it will suffice to ask whether the whole duty of man can be more forcibly summed up than in the two well-known passages of Deuteronomy:—

'The LORD our God is one LORD: and thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (vi. 4, 5).

And (x. 12, 13)—

'And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the LORD thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of the LORD, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good.'

Deuteronomy is a great book: as has been justly said, it is a book of national religion, and, accordingly, has some of the limitations of age and place stamped upon it; but it is at the same time a book of personal religion, and so of universal religion; and in these two passages one of the most fundamental principles of the writer is impressively propounded. Love to God, *i.e.*, an all-absorbing sense of personal devotion to Him, is to be the primary spring of human action, the presiding genius of the Israelite's life. Jehovah, the author is ever eloquently insisting, is the only God, a pure and spiritual Being, Who has loved Israel, and is worthy to receive Israel's undivided love in return. Israel is to be a nation holy to Him; its members are never to forget that they are the servants of a holy and loving God; and love is to be the guiding principle of their conduct, whether towards God or man. And thus Deuteronomy teaches the great truth that religion is concerned not only with the intellect and the will, but that it involves equally the exercise and right direction of the affections.

III. The duties of man to his fellow-man are not in the Old Testament referred to any principle of ethics, as such, they are justified by religious sanctions; and the manner in which they are treated in it may thus be fitly noticed here. The paramount

importance, not only of what may be termed the more private or personal virtues, but also of the great domestic and civil virtues, upon which the happiness of the family and the welfare of the community depend, is throughout insisted on in the Old Testament. Truthfulness, honesty, sincerity, justice, humanity, philanthropy, disinterestedness, neighbourly regard, sympathy with the unfortunate or the oppressed, the refusal to injure another by word or deed, cleanness of hands, purity of thought and action, elevation of motive, singleness of purpose,—these, and such as these, are the virtues which prophets, legislators, and psalmists are alike, in different ways, ever inculcating or commending. And corresponding to this high appreciation of moral qualities there is its correlative,—a hatred of wrong-doing and a profound sense of sin,—which is stamped, if possible, yet more conspicuously upon the literature of ancient Israel. A single quotation must suffice as an illustration: it shall be from the first of the prophets, Amos (viii. 4-7), whose righteous indignation is aroused by the avarice and injustice rampant about him :—

“Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat? The LORD hath sworn by the majesty of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works.”

Till the grinding down of the poor and commercial dishonesty are things of the past—a consummation, it is to be feared, still far distant—these words of the herdman of Tekoa will not be antiquated or out of date. More examples could readily be found (*e.g.*, Is. i., v.). The prophets devote some of their finest and most impressive utterances to declaring, upon religious grounds, the claims of the moral law upon the obedience of mankind, and to the rebuke of vice and sin.

IV. The Old Testament is of permanent value in setting before us examples of characters, determined and moulded by the influence of their religion, which we may in different ways adopt

as our models and strive to imitate. Of course, it is not pretended that the characters of the Old Testament are devoid of faults, or blameless. Some, for instance, are limited by the moral and spiritual conditions of the age in which they lived, others exhibit personal shortcomings peculiar to themselves; but these faults are generally discoverable as such by the light of the principles laid down in the Old Testament itself, and none can certainly fail to be perceived by those who live under the higher light shed upon them by the Gospel. But it is impossible not to see how differently most of the Old Testament characters would have felt and acted had they not been softened and refined by the mellowing influences of the religion of Jehovah. The leading Old Testament characters display in a word not virtues merely, but *graces*. In the historical books, for instance, such qualities as kindness and fidelity, modesty and simplicity, domestic affection and friendship, the discipline and repression of self, are abundantly exemplified: in the case of Moses, to take but a single example, what reader can fail to be impressed by the nobility and dignity, the disinterestedness and love for his people which he habitually displays? No doubt, in the case of those narratives which were committed to writing long after the personages lived whose doings they purport to describe, the details are not all strictly historical; and the picture not unfrequently reflects the narrator's ideal rather than the actual facts; but this circumstance does not detract from their *didactic* value: the characters thus drawn still possess a great typical significance; they are ideals of faith and virtue, highmindedness and goodness, as these and other similar virtues might display themselves in many different situations of life; they are spiritual types, delineated by the piety of an age which looked back upon, and idealized, the distant and heroic figures of the past. But they are not the less products of the religion of Israel, and they are not the less to be reckoned among the inestimable heirlooms by which the religion of Israel has enriched the world. The nucleus of fact contained in the

Chronicler's picture of David's removal of the Ark to Zion, and his preparations for a Temple (1 Ch. xv., xvi., xxii.-xxix.), except the few verses excerpted without material change from 2 Sam. vi. 12-20, must be exceedingly small; but nevertheless these chapters present an impressive *ideal* of a godly king, intent upon organizing worthily the public worship of his God, and expressing to Him the due homage of a devout and thankful heart. And in the biographies of the patriarchs, as told in the Book of Genesis,—though here also it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the actual facts have been more or less idealized,—the lessons which they teach are none the less valuable. Truths and duties, especially those belonging to the 'daily round and common task,' such as we all need to learn, and continually through our lives have occasion to practise, are illustrated and enforced by anecdotes and narratives, which even the youngest can understand, and which can never cease to fascinate and enthrall those which have once yielded themselves to their spell.¹

V. The Old Testament is of unsurpassed value for devotional use and suggestiveness. And here our attention is attracted naturally, in the first instance, by the book of Psalms, in which the ripest fruits of Israel's spiritual experience are gathered together, and the religious affections find their richest and completest expression. In the Psalms the soul is displayed in converse with God, disclosing to Him, in melodious accents, its manifold emotions, its hopes and fears, its desires and aspirations: we hear in them, for instance, the voices of despair and distress, of confession and supplication, of confidence and faith, of yearning for God's presence and spiritual communion with Him, of thanksgiving and exultation, of adoration and praise; we hear meditations on the great attributes of the Creator, on His hand as seen in nature and history, on the problems of human life, and on the pathos of human existence; and we hear all these notes uttered with a depth

¹ *The Book of Genesis*, by the present writer, p. lxxiv. See further *ibid.* pp. lxi. ff., lxxviii.—lxxiii.

and an intensity, and withal with a chastened beauty of diction and rhythm, which secure for the Psalter a unique position in religious literature. It is the characteristic of the Psalms that love, and reverence, and trust, and such-like sacred affections, are not, as in most other parts of the Old Testament, commanded or enjoined as a duty from without, they are set before us as exercised, as the practical response offered by the believing soul to the claims laid upon it by its Maker, as the spontaneous outcome of a heart stirred by devout emotions. There are sound and valid reasons for doubting whether the Psalms are as largely as is commonly supposed a product of the earlier period of Israel's history: but the spiritual power and originality of a particular Psalm is not dependent upon the date at which it was composed, or the author who wrote it; and there can be no doubt that, whatever may be the dates of individual Psalms, the Psalter, as a devotional manual, rightly enjoys the pre-eminence which has ever been attached to it, and that it can never lose the place which it has continuously held in the affections and devotions of the Church.

But though the devotional spirit finds its fullest and most familiar expression in the Psalter, it must not be supposed that it is confined to this part of the Old Testament. Many passages of Deuteronomy, of the prophets, and the Book of Job, for instance, are also naturally adapted to kindle religious emotion, and stir the devotional instincts. It will be sufficient here to refer to the motives of gratitude and devotion so often persuasively appealed to in the discourses of Deuteronomy, to the hymns in Isa. xxiv.—xxvii., so beautifully expressive of the joy, and hope, and trust, of the redeemed community of the future, to the eloquent and moving strain of thanksgiving, confession, and supplication, in which the prophet leads the devotions of his people in Is. lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12, and to many passages in the Book of Job, which express, with great poetical beauty, sometimes the sense of the Creator's omnipresence and vastness, sometimes deep truths respecting the scope and methods of God's providence, sometimes the

pathetic longing of the patriarch for a removal of the barrier which seems to separate him from God. The freshness, the force, and the completeness, with which the devotional side of religion finds expression in the Old Testament must, as long as man continues possessed of religious instincts, ensure for it a first place in the affections of all who know it, and effectually prevent it from ever losing its value in their eyes.

VI. The Old Testament possesses a peculiar value of its own on account of the great ideals of human life and society which it holds up before its readers. These ideals, delineated usually in brilliant colours, are a characteristic feature in the writings of the prophets, who love to picture to themselves the age in which, after the troubles of the present are ended, the Kingdom of God will be established upon earth, when human nature, freed from all sin and imperfection, and inspired by an innate devotion to God and right, is to be renovated and transformed, when human society, no longer harassed by the strife of opposing interests, or honey-combed by oppressions and abuses, is to be held together by the bonds of mutual friendship and regard, and when the nations of the world, laying aside their weapons of war, are to be united in a federation of peace under the suzerainty of the God of Israel (see, for instance, Hos. xiv. ; Is. ii. 2-4, iv. 2-4, xi. 1-10, xix. 18-25, xxxii. 1-8, lx. ; Jer. xxxi. 33-34 ; Zeph. iii. 11-17, &c.). It is only too true, alas ! that these ideals remain still unfulfilled: the passions and wilfulness of human nature have proved in too many cases obstacles insuperable even by the influences of Christianity: but the world, since the advent of Christ, has at least made some advance ; and meanwhile these ideals remain as inspiring visions, ever holding up before us the consummation which human endeavour should exert itself to realise, and which human society may one day hope to attain.

VII. We may notice, lastly, the great stress laid in the Old Testament upon a pure and spiritual religion. Mankind have in all ages shown a readiness to conform with the external offices of religion, while heedless of its spiritual precepts and

of the claim which it makes to regulate their conduct and their life. The Jews, in whose law, taken as a whole, sacrifice and other ceremonial observances bulked largely, were prompt and even punctilious in the performance of such external rites: they thought that if they were sufficiently regular in their attendance at the Temple, and in keeping up the ceremonial observances of their religion, it was of little moment what their conduct in other respects might be; they were secure of Jehovah's favour (Jer. vii. 1-15). The prophets, on the other hand, insist emphatically that God requires the service of the heart; and that ritual observances, however scrupulously maintained, are of no value in His eyes, except as the expression of a right heart, and accompanied by integrity of life. It may suffice to quote one of the memorable utterances of the prophets on this subject. Amos (v. 21-24) speaking in Jehovah's name exclaims:

"I hate, I despise your feasts, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though you offer me your burnt-offerings and meal-offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts. Take then away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy lyres. But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream."¹

A religion of the heart, a religion influencing morally the direction of men's thoughts and lives and actions, is also evidently the ideal which the Psalmists placed before themselves, as it is also the ideal presented in the beautiful portrait of a godly and noble-minded Israelite depicted in the 31st chapter of the Book of Job. The time can never come when the pure and elevated teaching of the prophets and psalmists will not form a moral and spiritual standard, recalling to men the real demands which God makes of His worshippers, and exemplifying, in letters which all can read, the character and conduct in which He truly delights.

And so there can surely be but one answer to the question of the permanent religious value of the Old Testament. The Old Testament Scriptures enshrine truths of permanent and universal validity. They depict, under majestic and vivid

¹ See also Hos. vi. 6, Is. i. 10-17, Mic. vi. 6-8, Ps. l. 16-23.

anthropomorphic imagery, the spiritual character and attributes of God. They contain a wonderful manifestation of His grace and love, and of the working of His Spirit upon the soul of man. They form a great and indispensable preparation for the coming of Christ. They exhibit the earlier stages of a great redemptive process, the consummation of which is recorded in the New Testament. They fix and exemplify all the cardinal qualities of the righteous and God-fearing man. They insist upon the paramount claims of the moral law on the obedience of mankind. They inculcate with impressive eloquence the great domestic and civic virtues on which the welfare of the community depends; they denounce fearlessly vice and sin. The Old Testament Scriptures present examples of faith and conduct, of character and principle, in many varied circumstances of life, which we ourselves may adopt as our models, and strive to emulate. They propound, in opposition to all formalism, a standard of pure and spiritual religion. They lift us into an atmosphere of religious thought and feeling, which is the highest that man has ever reached, save in the pages of the New Testament. They hold up to us, in those pictures of a renovated human nature and transformed social state, which the prophets love to delineate, high and ennobling ideals of human life and society, upon which we linger with wonder and delight, as they open out before us the unbounded possibilities of the future. And all these great themes are set forth with a classic beauty and felicity of diction, and with a choice variety of literary form, which are no unimportant factors in the secret of their power over mankind.¹

S. R. DRIVER.

¹ The last paragraph is repeated, with slight alterations, from an address on 'The Old Testament in the Light of To-day,' given by the writer at New College, Hampstead, in November, 1900, and printed in *The Expositor*, January, 1901, p. 41.

To readers conversant with German, a brochure on the same subject entitled *Die bleibende Bedeutung des alten Testaments* (1902), by Professor E. Kautzsch (author of the important article on the 'Religion of Israel' in the 5th volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*), may be recommended. Professor Kautzsch includes in his discussion some topics not expressly touched upon in the preceding article,—for instance, he points out the necessity, in establishing the religious authority of the Old Testament against popular modern attacks, of abandoning unreservedly all untenable apologetic arguments; but his estimate of the permanent religious value of the Old Testament does not differ substantially from that expressed above.

OUR LORD'S REFERENCE TO JONAH.

“ As Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale ; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.”—*S. Matthew* xii. 40.

Although both S. Matthew and S. Luke relate that our Lord, possibly on more than one occasion, referred to a ‘sign of Jonah,’ the exact nature of that sign is given by S. Matthew only. Accordingly it is supposed by some modern scholars that the words of my text were not spoken by our Lord Himself, but are the Evangelist’s comment upon His teaching. This supposition is not impossible in itself, for it is frequently difficult, notably in S. John’s Gospel, to determine where the Saviour’s discourse ends and the Evangelist’s comment begins. Thus, for example, the ‘comfortable words’ given in S. John iii. 16 are in our Communion Service ascribed to our Lord Himself, whereas they have been printed by the Revisers of the New Testament at the beginning of S. John’s exposition of Christ’s discourse to Nicodemus. In the present instance however there is a great difficulty in such a view; for it is evident that, if the words of my text were added by the Evangelist in explanation of the sign of Jonah, such an explanation must have been in accordance with the common belief of his time on the subject of our Lord’s history.

But here we are confronted with a great difficulty: although our Lord’s words have commonly been understood as referring to His burial and resurrection, the mention of three days and three nights is incompatible with the explicit statement in the Gospels, that Christ was crucified on Friday, and rose again on Sunday; thus remaining in the grave only *two* nights. And

indeed this apparent discrepancy between our Lord's prediction and its fulfilment has always been a serious difficulty to students of the Gospels, who have been at their wits' end to explain it away. It will be sufficient for me to give two instances of this, the one oriental and ancient, the other western and modern. Aphraates, a Mesopotamian bishop, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century, explains the three days and three nights as follows: he argues that, since it was on the Thursday evening that our Lord said, "Take, eat, this is my body; drink ye all of it, this is my blood," the death of our Lord is to be regarded as taking place on the Thursday; for, he says, a man whose flesh is eaten, and whose blood is drunk is a dead man. Again no less a scholar than the late Bishop of Durham actually argued that our Lord must have been crucified on a Thursday.

Surely, however, we must admit that such expedients for harmonising our Lord's saying with the accounts of His death and resurrection are counsels of despair. On the assumption that the Gospel records give even a tolerably accurate account of our Lord's crucifixion, is it conceivable that there can have been an absolute uncertainty among the Apostles as to the day of the week on which their Master had been crucified? Moreover S. Paul states, as an integral part of the Gospel which he 'received' when he became a Christian, that Christ 'rose the third day from the dead:' and although from the peculiar method of indicating the ordinal numerals in the Semitic languages it is sometimes difficult to decide between the renderings 'on the third day' and 'after three days,' there can be little doubt that S. Paul, brought up to speak Greek as his mother-tongue, would use the expression 'on the third day' in the same sense as that in which we ourselves should use it.

The very fact therefore that the sign of Jonah given by our Lord, although commonly understood as referring to the period of His lying in the tomb, is in glaring contradiction to the statement that He rose again the third day from the dead

makes it extremely probable that it was actually spoken by our Lord Himself; for a commentator would never have added by way of explanation a statement obviously at variance with the common belief of the Church. But this is not all: for if the words were spoken by Christ Himself, then the statement that Christ rose again on the third day could not have arisen from a mistaken belief in the necessity of finding the fulfilment of His words; otherwise the Gospel narrative would have affirmed that He lay three nights in the grave.

The words of my text, therefore, are a witness to the primitiveness of the belief that Christ rose again on the third day from the dead, that is, that He remained in the tomb from Friday afternoon till Sunday morning. And surely in these days, when it is denied that there ever was an empty sepulchre on that first Easter day, we must be thankful for any such witness. For, indeed, the date of our Lord's resurrection is an insuperable obstacle in the way of those who would affirm that the story of the empty tomb is a myth arising in later days out of the primitive Christian teaching that Jesus, though He had been crucified, still lived. For if, as I have tried to show, the resurrection of Christ *on the third day* formed part of the earliest Christian teaching, it is obvious that in the belief of the earliest Christian teachers something had happened on the third day to bring about that belief. And even though it were to be supposed that the evidence of Mary Magdalene was of little weight, there must have been many a sceptic, even among those who had been reckoned among the disciples of Jesus, who, if they could have discredited the story of His resurrection by the production of His dead body, assuredly would have done so. One thing is certain: the resurrection of Christ was openly preached in Jerusalem, at a date when, if His body still lay in the tomb, it would have been possible to produce it. And the fact that, amid all the opposition to the new teaching, the one thing which would have put a stop to that teaching once and for all, viz., the production of our Lord's body, is never so much as hinted at, is surely a sufficient proof that the

body was not forthcoming. But if the body of Christ shortly after the crucifixion no longer rested in the tomb where it had been laid, there are, besides the resurrection, only two ways of accounting for its removal: either it must have been stolen by the enemies of Jesus as a last outrage, or it must have been removed by His disciples. That the former alternative is not to be thought of for a moment is evident; for had the opponents of Jesus known where His body was, we may be sure that they would have been only too thankful to produce it. And in the latter alternative, if the Apostles, after removing our Lord's body, gave out that He was risen from the dead, it is evident that they were guilty of a fraud of the grossest description. But surely such a supposition is impossible in view of all that we know of the Apostles. In the face of their moral teaching, the purest that the world has ever seen, in the face of their life of poverty and hardship and persecution, what jury would find them guilty on a charge of fraud?

The Christian Church, therefore, has rightly perceived the significance of the date of our Lord's resurrection by putting it in the forefront in the Creed, "the third day He rose again from the dead." The foundation of our faith is one which cannot easily be shaken. Surely in these days, when we are told so triumphantly that the Christian Creed cannot be proved, it is something for us to be able to reply, that in the days when it was first preached, its fiercest enemies were unable to disprove it.

But to return to my text—if Christ really rose from the dead after He had lain in the grave two nights, how are we to explain His saying that, as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so should the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth?

Now, in the first place, it is to be noted that it is extremely improbable that our Lord would have given a precise indication of the interval between His crucifixion and resurrection. To give beforehand an exact *programme* of future events is not God's way either in the Old Testament or in the New. That

Christ foresaw His betrayal, death, burial, and resurrection, we may well believe; that He told His Disciples the exact details of these beforehand is a supposition out of harmony with the general tenor of His teaching.¹

Accordingly it is but reasonable to interpret the 'three days and three nights' of my text as having no direct reference to the period during which our Lord's body lay in the tomb. The 'three days and three nights' of the latter part of this saying is but a quotation from the same phrase in the first part; the meaning being that, as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so must the Son of Man be *His* allotted period, *His* 'three days and three nights' in the heart of the earth.

But the objection may be made, Why should our Lord refer to Jonah at all? How could the story of the swallowing of Jonah by the whale be in any way a sign of Christ?

It is a melancholy fact that at the present time the Book of Jonah is commonly regarded, even by those who profess to reverence the Scriptures, with a sort of amused contempt. This is, no doubt, due in great measure to the misguided representation of the story of Jonah as literal history; the result of which has been that *the* book of the Old Testament which shows the deepest insight into the counsels of God, the most truly *evangelical* book of the older Scriptures, has practically ceased to have any lesson for the majority of the Christians of the present generation. The book of Jonah is not historical, and was not intended to be understood as such. It would, in fact, be almost as easy to prove that the Pilgrim's Progress is historical, as that the book of Jonah is. It is an allegory, and was written as an allegory; and accordingly all

¹ The conversation recorded in S. Mark viii. 31 may be thought to disprove this assertion, but it is to be noted that we have not the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but an account of a conversation which the Apostles did not understand at the time, and which may have assumed a more *definite* character in their minds when the death and resurrection of Christ had provided them with a clue. If our Lord actually spoke of a period of three days, it is possible that His teaching was derived from Hosea vi. 1, 2. We know that His use of the Prophets, so different from that of the teachers of His time, always was unintelligible to the Apostles before the resurrection.

such speculations as those which are indulged in on the nature of the fish which swallowed Jonah are mere waste of time.

Jonah, like the 'Son of Man,' in the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, is an allegorical representation of Israel, 'the people of the Saints of the most High;' and the various incidents in the story of Jonah are all typical of the nation of Israel. Israel had been called to be a missionary Church, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and Israel had neglected its mission; just as Jonah was bidden to go and preach to Nineveh, and sought to escape from his responsibility by taking ship to go to Tarshish. And as Jonah was punished for his disobedience by being swallowed by the fish, so Israel also was punished for its neglect of duty by being dispersed among the heathen, to all intents and purposes swallowed up among the nations of the world. And just as Jonah, when he seemed to have disappeared from the world was preserved by God, in order that he, being disciplined by suffering might perform the mission which He had given him, so Israel, though apparently lost, was safe in God's keeping. As Jonah was restored to light and life and activity, raised from the dead as it were, so Israel was to be restored to a fuller spiritual life. The sign of Jonah teaches that no one can be lost if he is in God's keeping; He can bring His own even from the deep of the sea.

I would gladly speak of the teaching of the latter portion of the Book of Jonah, but time forbids me to refer to more than that portion which directly concerns our text.

We see then that 'the three days and three nights' of the Book of Jonah represents that period of disciplinary suffering through which the prophet was preserved and prepared for the work which lay before him. As he was, so to speak, raised from the dead, so in every age God's servants will be raised from the dead. The Lord is mindful of his own. Though for discipline's sake He lets His saints be swallowed up, in His own good time He will restore them.

But you will perhaps say, If this was our Lord's meaning why did not the apostles perceive it?

To such an objection it is, I think, sufficient to reply that the interpretation of Scripture current in our Lord's time is so utterly different from His, that the Disciples could hardly have been expected to understand Him. It is a most notable fact, explain it as we may, that in His interpretation of the Old Testament Jesus is unique in His century. When arguing with captious opponents, it is true, our Lord adopts the common methods of interpretation; if He had not done so, there could have been no common ground on which He could have argued with them. But when He uses the Old Testament to enforce or illustrate His teaching, or as the expression of His own spiritual life, He always uses it, not after Rabbinic methods, but in its true significance. If we may judge from the scanty records of the Evangelists, the Prophets never have had, and indeed never will have, such an interpreter as Jesus of Nazareth.

But if the 'three days and three nights' are thus explained as having no direct reference to the time that our Lord's body lay in the tomb, how are we to explain the phrase 'in the heart of the earth'? To English ears, it must be confessed, the phrase does suggest burial; but the expression is a Hebrew one, that is to say, it is in accordance with Hebrew idiom, and to Hebrew ears it by no means conveys the sense which we should assign to it. Thus when the prophet Ezekiel represents the Prince of Tyre as boasting that he sits 'in the seat of God, in the heart of the seas,' it is obvious that he does not mean to imply that the Prince of Tyre is submerged beneath the water; and similarly 'in the heart of the earth' will not mean 'covered by the earth,' but 'in an earthly environment.'

The true significance of the phrase 'in the heart of the earth' will become manifest, if we consider the ideas with which the term 'Son of Man' is specially connected. There is, at least in my opinion, very little doubt that our Lord took

the expression from the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel; at all events it is difficult to resist the conviction that in His answer to Caiaphas He was directly quoting that chapter. Now in the vision of Daniel we read as follows: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Is it possible then to be in doubt as to the origin of the term 'Son of Man,' when we read that Christ said to the high priest, "Ye shall see the Son of Man (the 'Son of Man,' that is, described in Daniel), sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven?"

Now we are in no doubt whatever as to the significance of the 'son of man' in Daniel; for after the vision, we have in the same chapter the explanation of it; from which we learn that the 'son of man' (so called to contrast him with the superhuman Judge) is typical of 'the people of the saints of the Most High,' or what in Christian phraseology would be called the Church. The 'Son of Man' is in fact our Lord's name for the Church, and though he applies the name specially to Himself as being the Head of the Church, he does not limit it to Himself. Indeed, in one passage He actually distinguishes between Himself and the 'Son of Man': saying, "whosoever shall be ashamed of *Me* and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the *Son of Man* be ashamed when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels."

The expression, 'the heart of the earth,' therefore, is contrasted with 'the clouds of heaven'; and it will accordingly denote the sufferings, and temptations, and struggles, through which the 'Son of Man' must pass on earth before he be caught up on the clouds of heaven, to receive His kingdom

from His heavenly Father. And thus the sign of Jonah is fulfilled not only in Christ Himself, but in all His Church, 'the people of the saints of the Most High.' As Jonah was three days and three nights in the body of the whale, so also must the Church in all ages be its three nights and three days in the heart of the earth. And as Jonah was restored to life again by the power of God, so, when the time of discipline is over, the Church, made perfect through suffering, shall be caught up, as it were, on the clouds of heaven to the Father's throne, and shall receive from Him the kingdom prepared for it from the beginning of the world.

We, too, are an adulterous and sinful generation; we, too, ask for a special sign from heaven to cheer us in our struggle; but we have the sign of Jonah, the sign attested as true by the saints of God in all ages, which teaches us that, though God's saints seem to be swallowed up without hope in this world, they are safe in their Father's keeping. 'Three days and three nights in the heart of the earth'—and then, an everlasting kingdom which shall not pass away, and a dominion which shall not be destroyed in 'the clouds of heaven' before the Everlasting Father, the Ancient of days.

R. H. KENNETT.

THE VALUE OF THE "NEW SAYINGS OF JESUS."

It is hard to estimate the exact historical value which should be attached to the *New Saying of Jesus*, discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and published within the last few months.¹ They may quite conceivably be genuine; there must have been many of the Lord's saying treasured in the memories of those who heard them, which yet were not incorporated in our Four Gospels; it is almost certain that many written collections would have been made of such sayings; and in this collection there is nothing which seems to me unworthy of our Lord. On the other hand, it is difficult on the theory of their genuineness to account for the fact that some of the most striking of them have not left any mark on Christian literature; and there is no doubt that a habit arose very early of ascribing all truth to Him and consequently of treating as a saying of His any great truth which, though borrowed from outside, was felt to be consonant with His essential teaching. They are then either real sayings of His or sayings put into His mouth by some Christian teachers in Egypt in the second century, partly borrowed from the Gospel tradition, partly from the best teaching of Greek philosophy. And there is no instance in which this alternative origin can better be weighed and tested than in the saying which I propose to take as the theme of this article, the second saying in the last collection. Here it is: '*Jesus saith. Ye ask who are they who draw us to the kingdom, if the kingdom is in heaven?*'

¹ *New Sayings of Jesus*, edited with Translation and Commentary by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Clarendon Press. 1904. Price 1s. The best reconstruction of the text is that by Dr. Swete, published in the *Expository Times* for August, 1904.

[*But I say unto you*] *the fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, these are they which draw you; and the kingdom of heaven is within you; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. Strive therefore to know yourselves and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Almighty Father; and ye shall know that ye are in the city, and ye are the city.*¹ Here we have at least three, perhaps four, great lines of truth:

1. The animal creation can help us in religion: birds, beasts, and fishes can draw us towards the kingdom. The thought is not uncommon in the Old Testament, indeed there is one passage which may have prompted the saying: it occurs when Job is scornfully laughing at the vaunted wisdom of his friends; all that they knew about God might, he says, have been learnt from the animal world:—

But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee;
 And the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee:
 Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee;
 And the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.
 Who knoweth not in all these,
 That the hand of the Lord hath wrought this; (c. xii. 7-10.)

Nor does this passage stand alone in the Book of Job: for it is from the sight of the animal world, from the goodly wings of the peacock, the swiftness of the ostrich, the strength of the horse, the massiveness of behemoth, the untameableness of leviathan, that there comes to Job not indeed a solution of his perplexities, but a sense of the majesty and sovereignty of God which makes him willing to trust and to wait. The animals draw Job into subjection to their own king.

In the same way the Lord Himself bases the lesson of quiet trustfulness and dependence upon God, of the duty of putting aside anxiety, upon the example of the fowls of the

¹ I have added the words in brackets; otherwise I have reproduced the translation of Grenfell and Hunt.

air, 'Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them.' Watch the sea-gulls as they follow a ship in mid ocean, their beauty of form, the quiet stately movement onwards, the confident swoop downwards, the long, patient, trustful following of the ship far away from their own nests, the swift flight homeward when they are fed, guided by a true instinct to their young, and there is many a lesson which we may learn of reliance upon the powers and instincts which the Father has given us: they are under rule, and draw us to trust in their Ruler.

2. But there is deeper teaching yet in store for us here. *The kingdom of God is within you.* These words at least are our Lord's; they are found in S. Luke xvii. 21, though there, as they are addressed to the Pharisees, their primary meaning seems to be 'the kingdom of God is already among you, it is in your midst though you have not eyes to see it.' Here, however, perhaps under the influence of some philosophical surroundings, the meaning is certainly more subjective, for the words are spoken to disciples, and the sentence stands in contrast to the teaching of the animals: they may draw you towards the kingdom, but you must look into your own heart if you want to find it, you must see what your own nature is, what are its possibilities, its implications, and then you will find the kingdom. So expanding this thought, the saying moves forward, '*Whosoever shall know himself shall find it.*' Here we touch closest to Greek philosophy; here almost word for word is the utterance of the Delphic oracle, 'Know thyself,' that utterance the authorship of which was unknown to the Greeks, but which was celebrated through the whole world and always treated as having been due to some divine inspiration, as having descended from heaven.¹ Such a saying may have been known to and consciously adopted by our Lord Himself

¹ Cf. Juv. *Sat.* xi. 27 *E caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*: Porphy. ap. Stob. *Flor.* xxi. ὁρμηθέν ἀπὸ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας: Ovid, *A.A.* ii. 500 *Fama celebrata per orbem Litera, cognosci quae sibi quemque iubet* (quoted by Mayor, ad loc.).

or the thought may have been expressed by Him quite independently: at any rate it is noticeable how the thought is lifted here to the highest level. In Juvenal it is little more than a shrewd maxim of worldly wisdom; you must know your powers, you must recognise your limitations and the length of your purse, if you want to get on in the world: here it becomes an utterance of spiritual wisdom, the very charter of human dignity, for it assures us that in the knowledge of self we shall find the kingdom. 'It is then,' says S. Clement of Alexandria, exactly in the spirit of this saying, 'it is then, as it appears, the greatest of all lessons to know oneself. For if a man knows himself, he will know God' (*Paedag.* iii. 1, ap. Grenfell and Hunt, p. 17). What does this imply? It implies that in all our higher faculties we find a reflection of the Divine attributes. We hear the voice of conscience speaking to us, and there is a regal note in its tones; it is God's Viceregent in the soul; it is uttering the King's command to His subject: God is really ruling there and we dare not disobey. We feel conscious of the strength of our will: we can choose our motives, we can partly control our surroundings: we can guide and tame the very animals who have led us into the kingdom, 'all sheep and oxen, yea and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas'; we feel that these are in subjection under our feet; and then we recognise that such freedom as we have is His gift, a sharing of His power, that it is He who has admitted us to share His rule or to carry out His purposes, and we feel that this power ought only to be used for His purposes, and that our freedom can only grow more perfect as we keep it in conformity with His laws. Or again, we feel as we grow in knowledge that we can really rely upon our intellectual and spiritual faculties; we may travel slowly but we are travelling on a royal road; we are being led to see into the heart of things, into the laws of the kingdom of truth; the spirit of despondency and perplexity and scepticism gives way before the advance of spiritual knowledge within us; we understand

a little of the depth of the saying that 'the mind of man is the throne of the Godhead.'¹

3. The saying carries us one step further. *Strive to know yourselves and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Almighty Father.* Here we pass without a shadow of a doubt beyond the region of Greek thought into a Christian atmosphere.

The nearest analogy is to be found in S. Paul's adaptation of Jer. xxxi. 1 in 2 Cor. vi. 18: 'I will be a *Father* unto you, and ye shall be my *sons* and daughters, saith *the Lord Almighty*,' but the words are also very near akin to the language of the Sermon on the Mount: 'that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven'; 'ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.' Self-knowledge will always reveal to you a sense of sonship; it will reveal a sense of dependence, a craving for love, a sense of implanted power. This is so with the sinner: when the Prodigal son *came to himself*, he awoke at once to a sense of sonship; he thought at once of his position as son, so much above that of a hired servant, and at once he arose and *came to his father*. And the man who has not sinned will, no whit the less, feel that it is his father's strength that enables him to be what he is. You may see a father's teaching and stimulus and power reproduce itself in a son's work, and the true son will recognize and confess that it is not he alone but his father in him who is working. This is not only the teaching of our Lord but it is the witness of his own self-consciousness. 'The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing.'

This then is the third lesson; the dignity of human nature lies in the sense of sonship. We are not only subjects in a kingdom, but sons of a royal Father, who have to carry out His will; our will is the instrument of His Love; our knowledge is an implanted power, enabling us to recognise His nature; our

¹ Macarius quoted in W. R. Inge's *Faith and Knowledge* (p. 242), a book which I should like strongly to recommend to thoughtful students wishing to deepen their spiritual life.

conscience is not only the mandate of a king to his subjects, but the whispered monition of a Father's love.

4. Shall we go on to a yet further lesson? '*Ye are in the city of God and ye are the city*': so Grenfell and Hunt reconstruct the last words; and if this is right we have the further lesson that no individual stands alone, but that we share a common citizenship, with mutual duties and the necessary recognition of the rights of others, we are fellow citizens with the saints. This would be akin to the use of the same metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews which pictures Abraham as looking for the city which hath foundations (xi. 10), and describes Christians as having come into the city of the living God (xii. 22); it would on the other hand also be akin to the Stoic conception of the cosmopolitan city, which embraces both gods and men, that highest city in which the other cities are as it were separate houses. (πόλεις τῆς ἀνωτάτης, ἥς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσὶν. Marcus Aurel. iii. 11.)

But the reconstruction of these lines is to me very doubtful; if it is right I can scarcely think the words genuine; they have no analogy in the Gospels, the phrase 'ye are the city' goes beyond the language of the Epistles, and seem to me to ring more of Greek philosophy. The doubt about them is so great that we may leave them aside. Enough remains in the saying for Churchmen to take to heart. There is no creature of God so worthless but that it may recall to us the goodness of God; that (in the language of the *De Imitatione Christi*) is the summary of the first part of the saying, and it teaches us tenderness, thoughtfulness, and reverence for the animal world. But the main lesson is the duty of self-knowledge. As we look within, we shall find indeed much that is unlovely, and we shall need to ask is that the *best* self? or is it that only something overlaying the best self, something that has to be removed before we get down to the bottom? Let us look again deeper, and we shall see the true self, the self that speaks of the essential dignity of its nature, of its power to rule, to know, to love; and as we see this we shall learn

reverence for our nature both in ourselves and in others, and grow in courtesy and tenderness and manliness. And this thought will add new force and meaning to our prayers; whether it is the prayer of the prodigal longing in the revived sense of sonship to get back out of slavery into his father's house, or whether it is the prayer of the loyal son, conscious of the source of all his life and powers, anxious to strengthen them by union with his Father's will, and eager to be worthy of his Father and promote His work on earth.

W. LOCK.



ASSYRIOLOGY AND INSPIRATION.

It might be supposed from many recent writings that before the difficulties raised by the Higher Criticism there had been no question as to the nature of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. A careful examination of ancient controversies will, I think, show on the contrary that precisely the same difficulties were perceived, though from different standpoints, even in the 'ages of faith.' For most of us probably, till lately, the doctrines of revelation and inspiration have belonged to the category of fundamental indefinables. They were seized by a species of intuition and we were rather conscious of their meaning than able to use it as a definite concept. Such definitions as existed in books did not exactly contradict our feeling but only inadequately expressed it.

Now there is no inherent unreality in indefinability. We do not doubt the existence of space and time, because we are not ready with their definitions. Whether they are realities, or not, does not concern the validity of what we build upon them. They may be best appreciated by the consequences to which their assumption conducts us. It is by some such indirect method that we may perhaps best vindicate our belief in revelation and inspiration and guard that faith from the great dangers of definition on one side and of indefiniteness, liable to the suspicion of unreality, on the other.

To the theologians may be left the care of formulating definitions, if they see fit and necessary. The danger of definition in this subject is that it demands a prophetic instinct. Otherwise, while the definition may suit all known facts, it may be very unsuitable for fresh facts. We may find ourselves in what some may imagine to be the awkward position of the physicist confronted with radium. For him that is a slight

embarrassment, compared to that of a theologian whose old definitions do not cover new discoveries. No one proposes to relegate physical science to the realm of exploded myths on account of one puzzle like radium. Not a few *do* propose to regard the doctrine of revelation as a delusion, because they cannot reconcile it with new facts. They are not even gracious enough to examine the authoritative definitions, and, after shewing them to be inadequate, to demand fresh. They merely content themselves with mistaking their own vague apprehension of a doctrine for the reality, and, finding great difficulties in retaining their old impressions, simply dismiss the reality as non-existent. This is apparently the attitude of Dr. Delitzsch in his lectures before the German Emperor entitled *Babel und Bibel*.

He does not confront our definition of revelation, or of inspiration, with the new facts attested by archaeology; but confidently appeals to the impression which his hearers have on on the subject. He does not stop to examine whether the inconsistencies he discovers are essential or only such as tend to remove misapprehension and lead to a clearer view of the doctrine. We must admit that he has much justification for his method. For such definitions as did exist are now untenable. That only proves the difficulty and danger of definition. We are not allowed to revise it, like a physical law, to meet new cases; we are asked to resign all claim to faith because what adequately expressed the state of knowledge long ago is now inadequate.

The temptation to rigid definition was once far greater than now. It was to be presumed that we really knew all the relevant facts; about the Old Testament, for example. The information and ideas contained in it could only, we may have supposed, be explained from one source. There was no conceivable source from which Israel could have had either its early historical information or its institutions. They must have been imparted from a superhuman source. No human records existed for the ages before Moses. Writing was believed to have been invented

later and the earliest known writing was thought to have been that on the tables of stone. Israel was supposed to have emerged from a nomad state only after entering Canaan. Its political constitution was entirely new in the history of the world. The later adoption of royalty was a retrograde movement. Its laws, theology, morals, were new and of divine origin, wholly superior to anything seen before, and in marked contrast to the institutions of other nations. This view was amply borne out by the claims of the Old Testament itself, at any rate as then understood.

The Higher Criticism forced us to fall back upon a theory of evolution in which not only did institutions, laws and theology develop gradually and in a way which could be clearly discerned, but the comparative primitiveness of ideas could be used to date documents. It never occurred to anyone that some of the most advanced ideas might really be the earliest of all, and the more primitive be a retrogression. The Higher Criticism did convince most of us of this, at least, viz., that everything in the Old Testament could not be held to be of the same value and that there was such a thing as a partial revelation, succeeded by a fuller. We could thus maintain a modified view of revelation and inspiration. It was apt to seem less supernatural because we could more or less discern the working of law and a process of development. It was still possible to hold that, regarded as an evolution of law or morals or religion, it was yet a unique instance, having no parallel elsewhere and a genuine revelation, an imparting to a single race, or group of men within a race, of ideas and tendencies which they could not have come by in any ordinary way.

Many of those who most fully accept the critical position as to the composition of the Books of the Old Testament still cling to the theory of what I may call a home production. In their view, looking at the Bible as re-arranged by criticism, we can say after all, 'Here are tendencies and forces at work which we discern nowhere else. They do not obviously spring out of the circumstances in which they are born. We must still

postulate a supernatural source. We may look on the prophets as the channel, and they claimed a direct mission from God. Inasmuch as they are clearly far ahead of their own times we may admit their claims. They were inspired, to them was revealed the mind of God.' This view also is very consistent with the claims of the Old Testament, as recently interpreted.

It does not seem to have occurred to the exponents of this new view of Israel's history that it is unscientific to credit all the good or all the progress in a nation to one class. There has been a very blind prejudice against those who made the laws of the people. There are no men on earth so nearly God-like as the great law-givers of mankind, and, in early times, the judges who gradually framed the custom that was codified as law and made it possible. There has been a no less blind depreciation of the priests, to whom in every age and nation men owe far more than it is the custom to admit. Further, as the king was not only the chief law-giver as well as head-warrior, but also a dominant exponent of priestly influence, with doubtless sometimes a claim to respect for his own personal genius, there has been a totally unhistoric depreciation of the significance of the king. This was a reaction against the spirit of ancient history which assigned perhaps too much to the king.

The most important factor of all was blandly ignored. No allowance was made for foreign influence, and with good reason, for the whole assumption is that each stage grew out of what preceded. Yet foreign influence may have dominated one period to the great advantage of civilisation. Its doctrine may have been marked by a recrudescence of primitive views. This necessitates a re-writing of the history; but not in the way which the new school of Babylonianisers would have us take. They make Israel's civilisation the mere dregs of Babylonian. They ignore as much as others. The strength of their position, of course, lies in the existence of dated documents. We can no longer say 'the time of Moses is too early for the existence of a code.' We know one, the Code of Hammurabi, which

must, at least indirectly, have influenced* Canaan five hundred years before Moses. Nothing in the Pentateuch can now be said to be so late in its conception that it is impossible that he could know of it. Here then is an entirely new factor.

What need of any idea of inspiration, or revelation, to account for what could have been ascertained by a visit to Babylonia? What need to traverse any statement as to date or origin of institutions in Israel, when they were far older in a country that had most intimate relations with Canaan? 'Israel had imported barbarism into a land of advanced civilisation, but gradually absorbed and modified that civilisation; and the blend is what we have always accepted a supernatural origin for.' If this view can be maintained, we shall find it hard to convince ordinary folk that there is any call for inspiration at all. We have at hand a simple natural explanation of all the phenomena.

We may be inclined to fall back upon the uniqueness of the New Testament. There we have now to face a more disconcerting feature than ever. If the Old Testament loses its claim to originality in the things which we judge to be its greatest glory, the fact does remain that there were marked contrasts with Babylonia. On the other hand, the very features in which the New Testament contrasts so vividly with the Old are those where it most closely follows Babylon. When the Jews came back from Babylon we admit that the influence of Babylon showed itself most markedly in revulsion. That at least characterised the dominant influence in Judaism, at any rate, that Judaism which we identify with the Judaism which kept its name. How deeply it affected the people we do not know. We do know, however, that there emerged from Judaism a group of Jews, whose beliefs we recognise as the origin of Christianity, but which show marked traces of Babylonian thought. We need not deny the historical character of Christ, but we may have to admit that much that came to be believed of Him was not transferred to Him from the ancient Jewish Messianic idea, but had its rise in popular conceptions which

owed to Babylonian influence their contrasts to contemporary Jewish views.

How are we going to meet these new factors? We have to reckon with Assyriology. It may perhaps be thought that after the elaborate and fundamental treatment of the doctrine of inspiration in view of critical difficulties, which forms the bulk of the Bampton Lectures for 1893 by Professor Sanday, little could have occurred to raise the question again in an acute form. The impression left on my mind by reading those lectures was that many modern objections had already been discounted. Ten years, however, is an epoch in Assyriology. At the time Professor Sanday wrote, it was possible in some quarters to expect a great revolution in critical opinion, based upon the discovery of the celebrated Tell el Amarna letters, written to Egypt by Palestinian rulers before the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. It was to be a revolution in favour of more conservative views. Now these very letters are the basis of the theory, which ever grows more convincing, that Canaan was a province of Babylonian culture, permeated by Babylonian ideas, using Babylonian writing and Babylonian language. This has been carried a step further of late by the discoveries of Professor Sellin at Ta'anek, in Palestine itself. Not only Babylonian altars and architecture, but also a number of documents written in Babylonian have been found. These may turn out to be of the same age as the Tell el Amarna group, but any way clinch the evidence that the Babylonian language was the medium of intercommunication between neighbours in Palestine. It is true that they had local dialects, glosses appear, but this is also true of provinces under Assyrian sway in the 7th century B.C.; when no one would pretend to doubt the predominant influence of Assyria.

Now, whatever be the opinion held of Dr. Hasting's critical views, it must be admitted that the editor of the New Dictionary of the Bible and of the Expository Times is in an exceptionally good position for knowing the modern currents of opinion. He says 'nothing that has occurred in our day has

dealt so hardly with the old idea of inspiration as the discovery of the laws of Hammurabi. Their far-reaching significance has scarcely yet been recognised. It does not seem possible, as popularly supposed, that the laws of Moses were given in their entirety on the top of Mount Sinai, or even that the Decalogue alone was so given.' The favourite position taken up by Professor Sanday, to examine the claim of the Scriptures themselves and to maintain that, is here peculiarly vulnerable. For 'the very claims that God spake all these words to Moses looks like an imitation or transformation of the relevant part of the Hammurabi Code. Hammurabi also, and with much solemnity, claims to have received his laws directly from his god.'

This single example shows that there is a fresh question to be considered. Postulating a revelation of God to selected members of a selected nation, with possible extensions of its area, it was possible to admit a thoroughly human expression and development of that revelation in the history of Israel. The critical theories could be absorbed in a new orthodoxy. Inspiration was preserved, even if modified, so long as the ultimate source, motive, or tendency was exempted from a purely human origination. The critics might analyse the sources, eliminate myth and legend, and present us with a completely fresh history. They still failed entirely to account for such laws, institutions, &c., as on their own system did not naturally arise out of the national history and circumstances. 'Why this steady tendency upwards,' we might ask, 'when many a turn to the right or left would have led to degeneration?' The Christian had a simple answer ready. 'This is due to inspiration. The new ideas were inspired and their own goodness gave them the dynamic force which overcame the inertia of old bad habits. Good supplanted evil.' That is a very satisfactory account.

There is now introduced a very disturbing factor. What if these higher views were not new, but borrowed from a higher and older civilisation? Where does the inspiration appear

then? In the ability to recognise the higher and the grace to adopt it? The higher civilisation in this case was that of the conquered people. Is not the old story repeated of the barbarian absorbed and civilised by the subject cultured race? Is it not merely the outcome of a change of circumstances after all? The nomad settling down adopted the laws and morals of a settled race. What more is there than that?

In the particular instance of the laws of Hammurabi the question has just been ably treated by Mr. S. A. Cook in his book 'The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi.' Written with full acceptance of critical results, as might be expected from a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, it admits practically no influence of Babylonia upon Israel; at least in the early strata of laws. Similarities are accounted for as parallel products of the Semitic genius, or even as similar creations of the human spirit in similar necessities. It is very desirable that this side of the question should be approached first, that we should be very cautious in admitting external influence upon Israelite history. The real attack, however, is not entirely met. That does not postulate a Hebrew law-giver sitting down to write out his code, with a copy of Hammurabi's code before him. It is not merely a case of displacing the voice of God by a Babylonian tablet as the source of inspiration. The undoubted fact that there are numerous very primitive laws in the Mosaic Codes does not affect the real contention. The Code of Hammurabi itself is no brand new Code. It has a highly composite constitution. It also has many primitive ideas, sometimes startlingly out of keeping with their context and surroundings. It really reflects a closely analogous state of things to what must have held in Palestine. A probably nomad, certainly Semitic, invasion of a settled, highly cultured population takes place in both countries. In Babylonia the invaders are fewer in proportion to the subject race. As far as the Code of Hammurabi is witness, they imposed less of their primitive customs on that land. Subsequent history shews that even these were gradually modified as

the peoples amalgamated. In Israel, whether because the invaders are less civilised, more numerous in proportion to the native races, or because these are less advanced than the natives of Babylonia, more primitive things survive. In each case the law-givers blend two types of law, according to the preponderance of the races owning their sway. In each case the primitive strands are Semitic of the type which persisted among the Arabs; the more advanced elements belong to that civilisation which, whether ultimately Semitic or not, is best known to us by the monuments of Babylonia before the dynasty of Hammurabi. As the invaders in each case became a settled folk, the laws of the previously settled folk won their way to acceptance.

This view seems to pass by Mr. Cook's investigations as irrelevant. What can be calmly argued in the case of law may be less patiently considered in the cases of morals or theology. But if there be good reason to admit a deep Babylonian influence in the cosmology and early history of the Old Testament, and no less in the Laws of Moses, how can we avoid admitting it when equally striking parallels occur for things more peculiarly religious?

Here then is the crux of the whole matter. When we examine a doctrine of Old or New Testament are we to account for it with the critics as a natural evolution from previous doctrines, or are we to say with the new school of archæologists that it came from Babylon? In either case, where are we to recognise inspiration or revelation?

Not a few good Christians are tempted to make peace with the critics by taking over a good deal of their view. This will not please such thinkers as Professor Delitzsch. He will have nothing to do with revelation or inspiration either, and he clearly supposes that the acceptance of any part of the critical standpoint is the end of all such ideas. Here he has both critics and conservative orthodoxy against him formally. But it is not clear that they meet his arguments.

Let us see what the Babylonian parallels can involve, before we attempt a constructive theory to meet them. We may set our problem before us by a series of questions.

Suppose that we could produce a passage from a cuneiform document which was word for word the same as a passage in the Bible, what should we do with it?

The answer, of course, entirely depends upon what the passage was, and its date. If, *e.g.*, we found a passage from a historical narrative contemporary with or slightly subsequent to the events, we should regard it as a corroboration. So, many Assyriologists at one time found in the historical narratives of the kings of Assyria, chiefly confirmations of the Holy Scriptures. If long after the event, we should suspect that the Bible narrative was known to the cuneiform scribe, supposing that we knew the Bible narrative to be earlier. But if we found a passage from a psalm or a prophecy, of a much older date than that at which we could suppose the Hebrew writer to have lived, we should be hard put to it to deny that the Bible contained an extract from a pagan source. If that can be proved, would our faith in the inspiration of the Bible be shaken? Surely not. There are professed quotations in the Bible from other books. We do not suppose them to be inspired. If it was true, beautiful, good, the inspired author might quote it.

Now what shall we say about notions or ideas? If ideas which we find in the Bible can be shown to have existed in the older religions, what are we to do with them? Surely there is no harm in that. If the idea was right, the Biblical writer must have it, if he is to teach all truth. Some such there must be. The pagans had ideas of God, of right and wrong, of future life and rewards, which were more or less correct. The Bible must at least include these, or it would lack something that even the pagans had. The Bible may set them in different wording, but they must be there.

Now, if the wording in which the pagans expressed their idea, assumed to be true, was well considered, if it was in fact

the correct human expression of the truth, whether moral or religious, then any correct expression in the Bible of the same truth, however literally inspired, must not only be similar, but as closely related as even direct translation could make it. This would be so, even if the Bible author never saw a line of cuneiform. We have only to think of what would have to be the case if both authors independently had to state that 'God is love,' in cuneiform and Greek.

But here we must face a real difficulty. If a quotation from a pagan book, or the statement of a moral or religious truth, be found in the Bible and also in a cuneiform document; if one is literally inspired, so must the other be. Or, we shall have to say that only that part of the Bible is inspired which is not to be found outside it. Now here is the difficulty. As long as the Bible was the oldest of books, and could not be shown to have anything in common with other books, it could be held to be all literally inspired; at least so far as it had been kept free of corruption. That was the idea, in striving to discover the original text of the Gospels, and might be ours still in trying to recover the original text of the Old Testament. But we must then be prepared to deny that anything there was known, or thought of, before it was written by the inspiration of God.

Now that we know that a whole literature existed hundreds of years before the Bible was written, that Babylonian culture was at its height when Abraham was in Ur of the Chaldees, that cuneiform texts were in the hands of Canaanites before Israel occupied the land, that the Canaanites wrote cuneiform, and even Egyptians did so; further that some books of the Bible at least were written after the Jews had been in Babylonia, we must be prepared to find direct quotations from cuneiform, and even more often a knowledge of Babylonian ideas. If this be so, these are inspired when they appear in the Bible. Then they are God's truth. Were they not so before? We must, therefore, modify the idea of inspiration to some such form as this. 'When a statement, a doctrine, or a phrase can be shown to be common

to the Bible and to cuneiform sources, we must regard that fact as God's seal set upon man's own inventions.' Or, we may say, that God had inspired the ancient Babylonians to some extent, measured by what was afterwards confirmed by the fuller inspiration. That, then, is a type of the 'progressive revelation' which was contended for in *Lux Mundi*, the idea of which once shocked so many. For it will acknowledge that some inspired truths contained in the Bible were known long before. We cannot suppose them less true when first known than later. Hence there is already a difference in the kinds of revelation in the Bible, some is entirely new, some is old truth re-affirmed.

But there is yet a step further which we must take. Given two documents of different ages, there are certain definite rules which will determine literary dependence. If these are satisfied and it can be shewn that the Bible uses *turns of expression* found centuries before in Babylonia, how can we deny dependence? Shall we say that God inspired men to use the same phraseology as was centuries old in another land? Or shall we say that truth once apprehended demands and creates its own phraseology, in exactly the same way? These evasions avail little when the actual cases come to be examined. There are crowds of cases where the same truth can be expressed in various ways, one or two of which only were anticipated in Babylonia. In other cases, only the old Babylonian way is used, when even *we* can think of others just as appropriate.

If we could feel that it was impossible for a Hebrew writer to know anything about Babylonian literature, we should, perhaps, be forced to call these miracles. But we are faced by the fact that Moses, at any rate according to tradition, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. We know that before his time some of those Egyptians knew Babylonian literature. How could he escape knowing it too? The Hebrew writers never profess ignorance of Assyria and Babylonia. They quite calmly tell us as much as they see fit. How much more they knew we can only guess.

Now let us take up a book like Professor Sayce's Gifford Lectures on the Religions of Egypt and Babylonia, and though he makes very little of the matter, being outside his subject, we may be startled to find how much that we have regarded as Biblical is far older. If we read Professor Zimmern's 'Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament,' where it is his duty to seek for parallels, we shall be overwhelmed to find idea after idea, phrase after phrase, paralleled. Quotation he does not assert. It would be difficult to disprove. But direct influence, the reminiscence of long acquaintance, the suggestion of having read these things or heard them spoken, is too strong to be disguised. What is it then? Were those people inspired who invented these things? Or are the words only inspired when they are written down in the Bible? Or is the Bible only partly inspired? Any way the old theory has to be modified. Why not modify it in such a way as to embrace all the facts and teach it so?

If we do not come to this we are perpetually at the mercy of what may turn up in future explorations. We do not allow ourselves freedom in meeting the adversary, who will soon be proclaiming far and wide that the Bible is merely a Jewish recension of old Egyptian and Babylonian myths and legends. If we start by denying to Egypt and Babylonia a share of divine inspiration, we shall be hard put to it to defend the inspiration of the Old Testament. Even now we must face a great problem. What was it which made some Egyptian and Babylonian things fit to be absorbed into the true religion and excluded the rest? That may perhaps be answered by the word 'inspiration.' The inspired truths were reckoned worthy to be granted eternal life. Man's futile expansions and accretions were doomed to rejection.

But here is the difficulty about that view. The rejected part once enabled men to attach a meaning to that which was to be thus preserved. We may even go so far as to say that without knowledge of some things thus ruled to be false the Hebrew writer himself could not understand what he was inspired to preserve. He must have understood something of what he

was inspired to reject, or else we have no guarantee that he was right in rejecting it. Once admit his knowledge of these things and you cannot fail to admit that he wrote under the influence of Babylonian religion. It is seen as much in what he rejected as in what he kept. We need not doubt that he was right in both cases. In this right judgment we can well see the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

The matter is somewhat complicated by the probability that the actual source of these religious ideas was very often Canaanite rather than Babylonian. The ideas had filtered through Canaanite media. But no one can doubt their Babylonian origin ultimately. That Canaan was permeated with Babylonian culture is proved up to the hilt by the Tell el Amarna letters written to a king of Egypt by Canaanite rulers just before the Exodus. If we say that only applies to a few, why then did they not write Egyptian or Canaanite? Babylonian was their tongue, or at least their literary vehicle, like Latin or French with us in the Middle Ages. Bliss found one cuneiform tablet in Palestine, Sellin has lately found several more.

We may piously desire to attribute as much as possible to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but we cannot forget that, at any rate, when the inspired writer came to express his supernaturally acquired ideas he had to use human language. As long as the Bible stood at the extreme horizon of the past we might perhaps think that every word was coined brand new for its purpose. But now we know that the background extends as far behind as the space which lies between us and it, we must recognise that every word had a long history, religious as well as secular, and we must study the growth and evolution of religious ideas and their gradual expression in language, to know thoroughly what these words and ideas meant when the sacred writers used them first. That they clarified the meaning we may still allow.

The same transition was noticeable when the New Testament writers were describing events in terms and phrases

which were already instinct with a religious significance, acquired in Greek translations of the Old Testament and in Greek writings of the period. What should we think of one who attempted to discuss New Testament doctrines without reference to the meanings those terms had in the Septuagint, in Philo, and the Egyptian papyri of the times?

Now I have only presented you with a sketch of what is before us. The knowledge of Greek paved the way for the Reformation. When Erasmus worked in my own College at Cambridge, he laboured to furnish the Churchmen of his day with means to understand the Bible. A new language has once more come to throw even a greater flood of light on the Bible. Because ignorant men in his day opposed the new learning and said that it destroyed the faith, they ended by disrupting the Church. Cannot we contrive to be wiser? We mourn still the disendowments, the destruction of Church property, the horrors of the Reformation. Greek did it. Why not in time absorb the new learning and so work it into our system that we shall be the first to teach it to the people? Let us show them our love of truth. Let us prove that we are willing to give up what was dear to us only because we thought it true, and are eager to reconstruct our view of religion to one which is as dear because we believe it to be true.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

(To be continued.)

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

KING OF BABYLON ABOUT 2250 B.C.

During the months of December and January, 1901-2, M. de Morgan, of the French Exploration Expedition at Susa, the old Elamite capital on the Euphrates, made a discovery which must interest every student of ancient history, but has an exceptional value for those whose study is centred in the writings of the Jewish people.

The find consisted of a large pillar of hard, black diorite. It had been broken in three pieces, and when fitted together was found to contain some 8,000 words graven in the cuneiform characters. The writing was arranged in columns round the pillar—16 in front and 28 behind. In one place the surface had been chiselled smooth. It is quite obvious that this smooth surface had once been covered with the same strange lettering whose removal was the preparation for a fresh inscription. By coupling this circumstance with the fact that the pillar is Babylonian, we are led to the conclusion that it had been removed from its original position by some Elamite monarch, who had carried it to Susa. There it had probably been dressed by the masons with the intention of recording the prowess of the king into whose hands it had fallen.

It was the work of a Babylonian sovereign and his name, Hammurabi, is recorded on the upper half beneath a bas-relief in which the sun god Shamash is represented in the act of delivering to him the Code of Laws.

There is no lack of material to enable us to examine the character of Hammurabi, and we gather that he was a wise and energetic ruler. It is a strange fact but a true one, that we know far more about the kings of Assyria and Babylon who lived and ruled in so remote an age, than we know about many

of our own early sovereigns and warriors. Manuscripts and paper records succumb to the ravages of time, but the rounded bricks and chiselled stones of Babylon with their regular and curious indentations have left a record which years seem powerless to efface. Countless numbers of these records have been brought to the light of day, and the kingdom of ancient Babylon lives once more. We can read again of the contract which merchant made with merchant; we can read the letters of a wife to her distant husband; we can read the chronicled accounts of the king's prowess in war, or his enterprise in peace.

The reign of Hammurabi forms no exception. We learn that he was the sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon, and although we cannot absolutely fix the date of his reign we are approximately right when we say that he was ruling about the year 2250 B.C.

He was undoubtedly a despot, but his rule was wise and beneficent. One of his letters tells us that the canal which formed the waterway to the city Erech had been inadequately dredged, causing the progress of commerce to be hindered. The energetic Hammurabi at once sent orders that the work was to be completed within three days! He was a man of business as well as king of the realm, and all the records bear witness to the admirable way in which his revenues were collected and his food supplies procured, how his flocks and herds were duly tended, and the account of his expenditure regularly checked.

The extent of his dominions is a matter of some uncertainty. The cities mentioned on the Code embrace all Assyria and Babylonia; but it is not definitely stated that he exercised sovereign rights over them, it only records the benefits which he bestowed upon the temples within their walls. He is elsewhere described as the King of Martu, which is generally interpreted as the Westland, or Palestine.

There is little reason to doubt that the king and the ruling body in general were not of common ancestry with the bulk of

their subjects, but it is difficult to say what nationality is indicated by their names. Hommel and Sayce declare they are Arabian, while Winckler and Delitzsch are inclined to call them West or North Semitic, akin to the Phœnician, the Moabite, and the Hebrew. All we can definitely assert is that they differed in nationality from the bulk of their people, and that they were probably a conquering race.

From the Chronicles published by the King it appears that he was at the head of the State for some 43 years, and ample evidence shows us that his reign was as active as it was long.

As a warrior he was bold and successful, but his chief interest for us will always be centred in his wise and enlightened rule. Many are the tablets and letters which relate to the temples he built and adorned, to the walls which he raised and strengthened, and to the network of canals which he dug and dredged, but beyond all else stands forth the noble code of laws in which he crystallized the customs of the Babylonian people, and made their life and property secure. With this brief notice of Hammurabi we pass on to consider the code which has added lustre to his name.

THE CODE.

Hammurabi's Code has been translated¹ and may be procured in the most convenient form in the Rev. C. H. W. Johns' book, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*.

It is difficult in the brief compass of this article to examine the nature of the Code or to analyse its contents. For a full discussion the reader must turn elsewhere; here we can but pick out the salient features or notice points of special interest.

A rough analysis shows us that the first few laws relate somewhat obscurely to the treatment of witchcraft, and more explicitly to the duties and functions of judges and witnesses.

The next section deals mainly with the theft of goods or slaves, and with the punishment of the burglar and the brigand.

Then follow a series of laws which we may term the land laws: the privileges and pay of gangers and constables, the herdsman's duties and the gardener's responsibilities.

It is in this place that the gap to which we have already referred occurs, and as the laws resume again with regulations securing the interests of the merchants and their agents, and defining the conditions of deposit and the penalties of debt, we may conclude that the erased section contained an introduction to the general subject of trade and commerce.

After this the code is occupied with a long series of laws relating to the marriage contract and its violation, women's rights to property and inheritance, and the adoption of children.

Finally we have laws dealing with special points in agricultural life, the hire of oxen and carts, and the purchase of slaves. Hammurabi had introduced his code with a long list of his virtues and the honour which had been conferred upon him by his God: 'The Great Gods have chosen me,' he declares, and again, 'I am Hammurabi, to whom Shamash has entrusted judgment.' He now closes it in a way which reminds us strikingly of the last two chapters of Deuteronomy: blessings rich and plentiful are the happy lot of those who keep his laws, but terrible curses are heaped upon him who despises their authority.

SOCIAL GRADES.

The laws recognise various social grades. There is the aristocrat (*amelu*) who in all probability belonged to the conquering race. Many have thought that these were members of the Semitic family, and had thus a relationship with the Hebrew people. Based on linguistic grounds alone this argument rests upon a precarious foundation, but in one respect at any rate the laws which refer definitely to the aristocrat have a striking resemblance to the Mosaic legislation. A characteristic of the Mosaic law is the principle of retaliation, which we find in its clearest expression in the words, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' Hammurabi's Code has

also many signs of this same principle, but they are mainly confined to the case of the aristocrat. With the other classes the principle of compensation takes its place. It has been argued from this that the aristocrats, being of the same origin as the Hebrew people, retained their ancestral customs in matters pertaining to themselves, while they used for the common people the practices which had already grown up in the land they had conquered.

We here place side by side two passages, one from the Code of Hammurabi and the other from Leviticus xxiv. 17-21. The comparison affords much instruction. What was the custom and the law for the stranger as for the homeborn in Israel, was only the law for the upper classes in Babylon. With the poor Babylonian it was not an eye for an eye, but a mina of silver for an eye.

HAMMURABI §§ 196-201. ¹

196. If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost.

197. If he has shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb.

198. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye or shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver.

199. If he has caused the loss of the eye of a gentleman's servant, or has shattered the limb of a gentleman's servant, he shall pay half his price.

200. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth fall out.

201. If he has made the tooth of a poor man to fall out, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

LEVITICUS xxiv. 17-21.

And he that smiteth any man mortally shall surely be put to death; and he that smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: life for life.

If a man cause a blemish in his neighbour, as he hath done so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him.

And he that killeth a beast shall make it good: and he that killeth a man shall be put to death. *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for the homeborn.*

Another and lower grade were the 'commoners' (*mushenu*) who were probably the original inhabitants of the country when the first dynasty subdued it.

¹ For the use of Mr. C. H. W. Johns' translations of the Code we are indebted to the kindness of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. A full translation will be found in the book they publish, entitled *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, by C. H. W. Johns (1s. 6d.).

Lastly, there were the slaves (*ardu*) who, although in one sense they were regarded merely as chattels, had yet important rights, which the Code proceeds to safeguard.

RELIGION.

In the Code the laws which deal directly with the religious usages of the people are less frequent than we might expect. As Mr. S. A. Cook has well observed, Hammurabi's Code does not deal so much with cult and ritual as with the civil law, and in the comparison of this code with the Mosaic laws it is important to bear this distinction in mind.

While the letters tell us that the temple was an honoured institution, from the Code we learn that it had its duties as well as its privileges. It was the temple's duty to provide the ransom necessary to procure the release from captivity of a native of the town within whose walls it was situated.

§ 32. If in his (the captive's) house there is no means for his ransom, he shall be ransomed from the temple of his city. . . . His field, his garden, and his house shall not be given for his ransom.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The trying of a case in Babylon had many points of similarity to the methods of our own law courts, and revealed a marked advance on the primitive Semitic customs. The early Semites had no judge, but in Babylon a judge presided at each court from the opening of the proceedings until their close, and in some cases he was required to be present when his sentence was executed. His first duty was to see if there was a true bill. If he considered the grounds were sufficient for further legal proceedings, he gave instructions that witnesses must be produced before a given date.

Under the common term *witness* we can distinguish three classes whose representatives in our day are the jury, the witnesses proper and those whose signatures attest legal documents.

No advocates were employed, and the plaintiff must plead his own cause.

Legal proceedings were apparently a costly means of settling commercial disputes and we frequently find the shrewd Babylonian merchants settling their disputes in a court of arbitration and agreeing to stand by the decision of a judge whom they might mutually choose.

In earliest Babylonian times, as in the early days of the Israelites, the gate of the city was the place of judgment. In later times the Babylonians built temples at the city gates and transferred the trials to the temple courts.

As with the Israelites, cases, that through lack of evidence or other causes could not be tried by human skill, were referred to the decision of the Deity in a trial by ordeal. The woman suspected of infidelity to her husband was cast upon the waters of the river. If she should float she was acquitted, but if she sank and was drowned, her fate was looked upon as a mark of divine vengeance drawn forth by her unfaithfulness.

Justice was generally satisfied by the infliction of a fine, but many cases occurred when crime must be punished by death. It appears to us a severe law which makes death atone for the receipt or sale of stolen goods, but we view with more satisfaction a similar sentence in the case of the 'jerry builder,' whose careless workmanship or defective material has brought death to the dweller in a house of his construction.

§ 229. If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work, and the house he built has fallen, and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death.

The law which immediately follows this is a survival of the old crude Semitic theory of blood revenge, which we find frequently in the history of the Israelites despite the opposition of legislators and prophets, who maintained that a man was responsible for none but his own deeds. (*Cf.* Deut. xxiv. 16.)

§ 230. If he has caused the son of the owner of the house to die, one shall put to death the son of that builder.

Several instances occur of punishment by mutilation. Sometimes it was based upon the principle of retaliation—'an eye for an eye.' In certain cases it was directed against an offending

member, and hence we find that a thief must suffer the loss of the hands which were more deft to steal than willing to toil. And a similar terrible fate awaited the luckless surgeon whose unskilful operation caused the death of the patient he had tried to cure.

§ 218. If the doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a lancet of bronze and has caused the gentleman to die, or has opened an abscess of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has caused the loss of the gentleman's eye, one shall cut off his hands.

AGRICULTURE.

Although in Babylon perhaps more than in most ancient nations trade and shipping formed an important part of the national life, agriculture always held an honourable place and we meet with laws which define the position of landlord and tenant, which fix the wage of the harvester or the hire of a cart, and state the conditions which should regulate the recovery of waste land.

It was a common practice for the landlord of this period to supply implements and oxen to his tenant, and to receive as his rent a specified proportion of the profits. The success of such a system most obviously depends upon the efforts of the farmer and the care with which he treats his landlord's property: and to ensure this success laws were framed which guarded the interests of each of the contracting parties.

§ 253. If a man has hired a man to reside in his field and has furnished him seed, has entrusted him the oxen and harnessed them for cultivating the field—if that man has stolen the corn or plants and they have been seized in his hands, one shall cut off his hands.

§ 254. If he has taken the seed, worn out the oxen, from the seed which he has hoed he shall restore.

Specially attractive for the enterprising man were the laws which fixed the payment for the land which was but newly brought under cultivation. The owner of the field had no power to claim rent until four years had passed away. He then shared in equal proportions with the gardener.

§ 60. If a man has given a field to a gardener to plant a garden, and the gardener has planted the garden, four years he shall rear the garden, in the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener shall share equally, the owner of the garden shall cut off his share and take it.

Water, both for transit and for irrigation, was used and valued in Babylonia to an extent unknown among the Israelites. But the water which was a blessing when kept within its proper bounds and used for developing the productive resources of the land, was a serious menace when the dykes which held it back grew weak through lack of care. So the Code prescribes the penalties the man must pay whose carelessness has brought disaster on his neighbour's lands.

§ 53. If a man has neglected to strengthen his bank of the canal, has not strengthened his bank, a breach has opened out itself in his bank, and the waters have carried away the meadow, the man in whose bank the breach has been opened shall render back the corn which he has caused to be lost.

If he is not able to pay he must be sold into slavery.

TRADE.

Viewed commercially ancient Babylon was a land of great activity. The artificial waterways which spread over the country like a giant net were thick with vessels which carried merchandise from town to town, while the wharfs which lined the banks of the canals in the neighbourhood of the cities presented to the passer-by a busy scene.

The Babylonians were skilful merchantmen. It is a matter of no small surprise to find that many of the modern methods of trade when traced back to their source are found to be a heritage from Babylon.

In early Israel trade was despised and the methods of the merchants were primitive in their simplicity, a simplicity which was theirs in common with all early Semite peoples. In Babylon no business was legal unless a deed, drawn up and duly signed, had made it so. But when Abraham had paid the price which made him master of Machpelah the bargain was concluded and no mention made of any written document.

In Babylon the security of individual property was made a matter of primary concern, and in the section of the laws which relate to the commercial life attention is paid to the many transactions in which fraud might strike a fatal blow at trade.

The Code gives us examples of the methods by which business was pursued in Babylon. A merchant would hand money to his agent who, giving him in return a receipt for the amount, went on his journey to trade. On his return, if fortune had favoured his endeavours, he first repaid the money he had taken and then shared with the merchant the profits that remained, each taking in a proportion previously arranged. We sympathize with the agent who 'has not seen prosperity,' for the Code commands him to return to the merchant the money which he took.

But the merchant also had his risks. Robbery was not infrequent, and the agent whose loss resulted from violence on the road was free from liability. He was charged to swear before his God that the story he told was true, and his liberty was restored.

§ 103. If while he goes on his journey the enemy has made him quit whatever he was carrying, the agent shall swear by the name of God and shall go free.

An extensive business was carried on in the warehousing of goods. Witnesses must be present and deeds signed if the owner of the goods would avoid risk of loss or the annoyance of wrongful detention of his property. If by chance he had omitted to do this he could make good no claim for damages against the warehouseman. On the other hand, if a warehouseman repudiated a just and lawful claim he was required to hand over double the amount he had withheld whenever the owner should show his deeds and produce his witnesses. The warehousing fee was levied in the form of a percentage on the value of the goods which had been stored.

§ 122. If a man shall give silver, gold, or anything whatever, to a man on deposit, all whatever he shall give he shall show to witnesses, and fix bonds and shall give on deposit.

§ 123. If without witness and bonds he has given on deposit, and where he has deposited they keep disputing him, this case has no remedy.

The transactions of the money lender were restricted by a series of special laws. The usual rate of interest was from 30

to 40 per cent. The debtor was treated with striking humanity, and his lot 4,000 years ago in Babylon compares favourably with that of the English debtor a few decades since.

MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS.

At first sight one might imagine that the lot of a woman was far better in Babylon during the days of Hammurabi than it was in Israel many hundreds of years later, and indeed there is a certain justification for such a view. Women had property rights, and could in certain cases claim compensation. But when all has been said for the consideration they received and the rights they enjoyed, we are bound to confess that there is a wide difference between the Babylonian and the modern mind on the subject. Woman was still regarded as the subordinate of man. She had no share in the choice of her husband, for the bargain by which she became a wife was struck between her father and the man who asked her hand.

A marriage was only legal when a formal deed had been drawn up and signed in the presence of witnesses. Into this deed were entered any peculiar conditions which the contracting parties wished to be observed. Presents from the bridegroom to the bride's father were looked upon as a matter of course, and in addition to this he was bound to pay what we may term a bride-price for his wife.

The wife held her property in her own right. The share which was due to her from her father's estate formed her dowry, and this remained hers for life. The husband might not appropriate it, and if she died childless, the husband must return it to her family: he was only permitted to deduct the bride-price which he had paid to the girl's father.

§ 163. If a man has married a wife, and she has not granted him children, that woman has gone to her fate, if his father-in-law has returned him the dowry that that man brought to the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim on the marriage portion of that woman, her marriage portion belongs to the house of her father forsooth.

An unmarried daughter had a share in her father's property at his death, a married daughter who had received no wedding-

portion had a similar right, and a widow was to have her own property—that is her marriage portion—together with a share equal to that of a son.

§ 172. If her husband did not give her a settlement, one shall pay her her marriage portion, and from the goods of her husband's house she shall take a share like one son.

So thoroughly did Babylonian law look upon a man and his wife as one, that each was held responsible not only for the debts which the other should incur after marriage but actually for those they had contracted in their single state. A release from pre-nuptial responsibility could only be obtained by special agreement prior to marriage and no consideration could secure freedom from the responsibility for subsequent debt.

§ 152. If from the time that that woman entered into the house of the man a debt has come upon them, both together they shall answer the merchant.

Divorce was allowed for adequate cause, a wife might gain a bill of divorce if she could prove cruelty in her husband. Unless the guilt of the woman was great the man was bound to give a reasonable compensation to the woman from whom he was divorced, and an additional grant was required where the woman had children to feed and educate.

Some clauses are curious. If a man speaks evil of another who is seeking the hand of a maid in marriage and brings about the rejection of the suitor, the slanderer may not marry the girl himself.

§ 161. If a man has brought a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a dowry, and the father of the daughter has said to the claimant of the wife, 'My daughter thou shalt not espouse,' he shall make up and return all that he brought him, and his comrade shall not marry his wife.

Adoption was common and a leading motive was the desire for support and solace in the failing years of old age. Often it was stipulated that the adopted son should maintain the man who adopted him as long as he lived. On the other hand an adopted son was considered as an heir, with a claim to a share in the inheritance which could be enforced equally with that of

the real son, although, of course, the amount which he inherited might be less in proportion.

At the outset we said that our treatment of these interesting memorials of a byegone age must be brief and inadequate, and yet, despite our efforts to condense, necessity has compelled us to trespass from page to page.

One subject of deepest interest still remains, but its discussion demands a special article. The mention of a code of laws older than the Mosaic code, and yet possessing many features in common with it, at once prompts the question, What relation does the older bear to the younger? It is proposed, in a subsequent number, very briefly to examine some of the lines along which a solution has been sought.

The laws cannot fail to impress: they carry us back to a far-off age and reveal a people with toil and strife, with hope and fear, with love and hate, akin to ours. Farmers and sailors, doctors and merchants, laboured with hand and brain, strove for the prizes of life, lived out their little day and joined their fathers in the silent city of the dead. Their turmoil is heard no more, and their dwellings have crumbled to dust, but their memory springs again to life as we study their quaint stone books. In the mingled thoughts that come to us as we read, there arises one which fills our heart and kindles our gratitude. The God Whom we worship and serve, Whose name is Love and His character Truth, held never aloof from the life of men. In the words of one who, beyond his fellows, studied the riddles of life, 'God left not Himself without witness.'

THE GOSPEL MIRACLES.

I. THEIR POSSIBILITY.

Did the Gospel miracles really happen? Did Jesus Christ really feed five thousand men with five loaves, and did He actually turn water into wine at Cana of Galilee? Do we believe that at His command the storm was stilled and 'the wind ceased and there was a great calm?' These are questions of the utmost importance, questions which must be answered definitely one way or the other. The accounts of the miracles are either true or false, and we must either definitely accept them or definitely reject them: we cannot hold our judgment in suspense. There are, indeed, some who maintain that the miraculous element is not an essential part of Christianity, that the acceptance of miracles is not necessary to Christian belief, and that questions as to the historical character of the miracle narratives are only of secondary and not of primary importance. But it cannot be too emphatically stated that such a view is quite untenable.

It is no exaggeration to say that if miracles are impossible and Christ did not perform them, our religion is valueless and, what is more, that it is based upon an entirely false estimate of the character of its Founder. This is quite obvious, for if miracles are impossible, if, that is, physical laws cannot be modified or affected by the operation of the Divine Will, then, of course, prayer which lies at the root of all Christian life and endeavour is also impossible;¹ and if Christ did not perform miracles, He can no longer be regarded as the Teacher of men, and His claim to be the Truth stands self-condemned, for,

¹Impossible, because useless. This does not apply, absolutely, to all prayer, but it applies to prayer which expects an objective as well as a subjective answer: it applies to most forms of intercessory prayer, to many of the prayers authorised in the formularies of the Church of England, and to some of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer.

unless the Gospels are regarded as destitute of historical basis, He undoubtedly professed to work miracles, and commanded His disciples to do the same. Thus if miracles are impossible, the Master Himself is either a deceiver and an imposter, or else a deluded and misguided teacher: He certainly cannot be 'our Lord and our God.'

This being the case it is very plainly our duty to ask whether we do really accept the Gospel miracles as actual historical facts, and these papers have been written with the object of showing that a belief in them is contrary neither to reason nor to experience. It is perhaps desirable to state at the outset the line of argument which will be adopted. First of all an attempt will be made to consider the argument against the miraculous raised in the name of philosophy, which takes the form of a statement that miracles are, in the nature of things, impossible, and we shall try to show that a rational view of the relation of God to Nature is very far from being inconsistent with a belief in the possibility of miracles.

We shall then try to answer the arguments against the miraculous raised in the name of science and of history, which take the form of a statement that miracles, though not impossible, are nevertheless incredible; that though God may be able to work miracles, we cannot believe that He ever has done so—in a word, that the study of science and of history has shown that miracles 'do not happen.'

And lastly, while admitting that miracles are of such rare occurrence that an alleged miraculous event cannot be accepted unless there is strong direct evidence in its favour, and unless it is believed that there is some reason why in this particular case a miracle should have been performed,—why, that is, the Creator should have deviated from His usual course of action—we shall try to show that both these conditions are fulfilled in the case of the Gospel miracles: that, on the one hand, the evidence in support of them is strong and convincing, and that, on the other hand, when they are viewed in their relation to Christianity, and all that Christianity has been and still is to

the whole human race, it will be plain that they were 'worthy' of God, and that there was an adequate reason for their performance.

Before proceeding to consider the first of these points—the philosophical argument against the miraculous, which will be the subject of this paper—we ought perhaps to explain what a miracle really is. As a preliminary and provisional definition, which we shall afterwards slightly modify, we will accept Mill's statement that a miracle is a perturbation of the normal sequence of physical causation: ordinarily the same physical causes produce the same physical effects, and miracles are physical effects which cannot be accounted for entirely by physical causes, or, in other words, phenomena which do not reappear whenever, and as often as, the same physical causes are reproduced.¹ Thus, the raising of Lazarus was a miracle, because here we have a physical result—the restoration to life of a dead man—which cannot be accounted for by the ordinary laws of physical causation, which could not have prevented the dead body from decaying and undergoing a process of decomposition.

Are such phenomena possible? Can we imagine such modifications or counteractions of the law of causation, of the law that the same physical causes always produce the same physical effects? The answer to this question is obvious. Since the law of causation cannot be violated, miracles are only possible under this one condition—that there is a spiritual cause at work in the universe in addition to physical causes, which can counteract and modify these physical causes and produce a result which they alone could not have produced. Miracles, then, are only credible to those who believe in the existence of a spiritual world, which is distinct from, and capable of influencing, physical phenomena. To the materialist the very idea of miracle is inevitably inconceivable, for if there is no God, no spiritual world, there can be nothing to modify the laws of physical causation, that is, to produce a miracle.

¹ See the article on Miracles, Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. III., page 380, § 2.

At the present day few thinking men would commit themselves to the definite assertion that there is no God, but some believers in God, some theists, emphatically deny the possibility of miracles. Thus it will be seen that our conception of the credibility of miracles will depend not merely upon our belief in the existence of God, but also upon our conception of the relation of God to Nature, of the spiritual to the material world, and there are two views of this relationship which are incompatible with a belief in miracles.

First, the *Deistic* view, the view which was largely prevalent in England during a great part of the XVIII. Century. The Deist regards God as entirely 'transcendent,' as entirely separate, that is, from the world: He is simply an 'interested spectator of, and plays no part in, the great drama of life. The Universe, with all its laws, is like a large, automatic, self-regulating machine, perfectly adapted to its work, made by God and set in motion by Him. God, being wholly Good and absolutely Powerful, must have created this machine in the best possible way. It is therefore inconceivable that He should from time to time stop the machine, alter its mechanism, or introduce changes which would effect a modification in its working, for any such change must, on the hypothesis, be for the worse. The Universe then with its physical laws is the perfect expression of the Divine Will, and miracles, or modifications of these laws, are incredible as implying a contradiction of God's Will by Himself.

Such a view of God and of Nature, of course, stands self-condemned, for it is contrary to the facts of every day experience. Everyone knows that the conditions under which we live to-day are not the best possible conditions. Can anyone maintain that the sin, the misery, the evil which exist in the world are 'a perfect expression of the Divine Will?' And, admitting their existence, as we must, is it not wholly credible that God should 'interfere' at exceptional times and in an exceptional manner with those laws, which He has created

and which He is enforcing, in order to save man from the consequences of his own sinful acts? Such interferences are not lawless, but exactly the opposite, for their object is the restoration of that order in the Universe which man by his sin (*ἀνομία* lawlessness) has destroyed. Certainly no believer in the Incarnation can think that God is entirely separate from the world and like a 'retired artificer' severely leaves alone the machine which He has created.

Secondly, there is the so-called *Pantheistic* view. The Pantheist does not regard God as entirely outside the world, but as entirely immanent in and co-existent with the material Universe. While the Deist regards Him as merely watching the working of the machine which He has set in motion, the Pantheist regards Him as actually identical with the machine itself. He regards the Divine activity as strictly limited to the order of nature: to him the laws of spirit and the laws of matter are identical, and thus, so far as the possibility of miracles is concerned, there is no difference between Pantheism and materialism—Pantheism is simply 'materialism grown sentimental'—for if every physical cause is also spiritual and every spiritual cause is also physical, there can be no spiritual force at work distinct from and capable of modifying physical forces and thus of producing a miracle.

Thus both Deism and Pantheism are incompatible with a belief in miracles, but as a matter of fact neither of these theories as to the relation of God to Nature, of the spiritual to the material world, can be regarded as logically satisfactory, since neither of them will explain all the phenomena of experience and since each of them is based on *a priori* suppositions and not on scientific and philosophical reasoning. Of course it is impossible, in the nature of things, for the human mind to form a really adequate conception of the exact nature of this relationship, but there is a way in which we can logically attempt to do this. Instead of merely guessing at the unknown, like the Deist and the Pantheist, we can begin with experience and argue from the known to the unknown. We want to find out

what is the character of the relationship of God to Nature, and of spirit to matter: we want to find out whether it is possible for the one to act on the other, and if possible, in what way or ways this action will take place.

We should, therefore, first of all see whether our own personal experience will afford us any example of the co-existence side by side of spirit and matter in close connection with one another. Well, surely it will. In the human personality we see spirit and matter in close relationship, the one acting on the other, and what we have to do is just this. We should see in what way they are related in the human personality, and then base our conclusions as to the relation of God to the material Universe upon an analogy drawn from what we have discovered the relationship of spirit to matter to be in the case of the human personality. Now in so doing, in taking this as our starting point, we are standing on firm ground and not merely guessing at random, since the human personality is the thing we know best, and about which we can speculate with a very high degree of certainty.

What, then, do we learn from a consideration of the human personality as to the relation of spirit to matter? We learn two things—first, that the spirit transcends the matter, that the spirit is, in a sense, distinct from and independent of the matter; and secondly, that the spirit is also immanent in the matter, that the spirit is, in a sense, dependent on the matter since it acts only in and through the matter.

That the spirit transcends the matter we see, first of all, from our self-consciousness, our power of thinking about ourselves, or in technical language, our power of ‘separating ourselves as subjects from ourselves as objects’: and secondly, from our conviction of ‘self-identity,’ our conviction that we are, to-day, the same persons that we were years ago, notwithstanding the fact that our actual material bodies are completely different; and thirdly, from the conviction that we are ‘free agents,’ that we are capable of self-determination from within, whereas all matter is determined not by itself, but

by something external. Thus as self-conscious, self-identical, and self-determined, we are 'spiritual beings' and possess qualities which transcend the laws of matter. Yet, on the other hand, we see that the spirit is also immanent in the matter, for we can only realise these qualities, these spiritual qualities, in our material bodies, the spirit working through the material organism—the brain.¹

On the analogy, then, of the relation of spirit to matter as we find it in the human personality, we shall conceive of God, not in accordance with the Deistic view, as only transcendent, nor yet in accordance with the Pantheistic view, as only immanent, but rather as both, as 'transcending the material order of things and yet sustaining and dwelling in it.' We shall no longer view the Universe with its physical laws as a machine, but rather as an organism, like the human body, in which spirit or mind is ever acting on matter. We shall believe that just as the human mind is ever at work in the human body, controlling and modifying purely physical laws, so in the organism of the Universe the Divine Mind is ever at work, in the ordinary processes of Nature just as in those extraordinary processes which we term miracles. Thus just as every action of the human body owes its origin and its execution to the human will acting through the material organism, so in the Universe, every movement, every result, is ultimately to be traced back to the operation of the Divine Will, and the difference between the ordinary operations of the Divine Will in the ordinary course of things—as when the trees put forth their leaves in spring, or when, in summer, the fields are yellow with the ripening corn—and its extraordinary operations in what we call miracles—as when the water became wine and when the storm was suddenly stilled—the difference is one of degree and not of kind.

Now we said above that miracles are physical effects which cannot be accounted for solely by physical causes. If, then, we accept this view as to the relation of God to Nature and of

¹ This section is derived almost verbatim from Illingworth *Divine Immanence*.

spirit, whether human or divine, to matter, miracles, in this wide sense of the word, will be of every day occurrence. They will be performed by the human will no less than by the divine will, and every exertion of will to counteract or modify the ordinary laws of physical causation will be a miracle. Thus when I throw a ball in the air, it is a miracle, for this physical effect—the rising of the ball—is the result of a spiritual cause—the exercise of my will—and is a violation of the law of gravitation that all solid bodies fall to the ground. Here, then, in such a simple case as this, we have an instance of a spiritual force producing effects upon nature which nature by herself could never have produced, and if the human will can thus modify physical laws and produce an effect which they could not have produced, why is it thought incredible that the Divine will should in like manner modify the operation of physical laws, or why is it thought impossible that the effects thus produced by the Divine will should be greater and more remarkable than those resulting from the operations of the human will?

If we endeavour to classify the different forms which these ‘miracles’—these physical effects due to spiritual causes—might conceivably take, we shall find that they may be grouped together under three heads: mind or spirit modifying and counteracting the operation of physical laws, first, in connection with its own body; secondly, in connection with the minds, and through the minds, with the bodies of other persons; and thirdly, in connection with inanimate matter.

Of course we have numerous instances of ‘miracles’ of the first class in the ordinary activities of the human mind, as when, for example, I jump in the air, or raise my arm, for in each case a physical effect is produced upon my body through an act of my will. To this same class of ‘miracles’ would belong many of the cases of ‘faith-healing’ about which we hear so much at the present day, cases in which the cure is popularly attributed to the properties of some ‘relic,’ or else is believed to be a reward for some hardship suffered, or some

pilgrimage undertaken, but is really due in most cases simply to the operation of the mind upon the body: the man believes he will be restored to health, and the exertion of the will involved in the act of faith effects the desired cure. It is, however, a remarkable fact—and a fact which illustrates the extraordinary power the mind has upon the body—that these cases of faith-healing are not limited to ‘nervous’ disorders, but extend also to diseases which are generally supposed to be of a purely physical character: at the display of the Holy Coat at Treves, in 1891,¹ eleven such ‘miracles’—including the cure of paralysis of the arm, lupus, rheumatic gout, and blindness due to brain fever—were performed in the presence of a number of witnesses, the cures being effected, according to the testimony of physicians who were present, entirely by means of the Holy Coat, without the application of any ordinary physical remedies.

With regard to the second class of ‘miracles,’ it should be noted that, a few years ago, it would probably have been denied that any instances could be found of their performance by the human will, but at the present day not many would assert that this is the case, for recent investigations concerning telepathy and hypnotic suggestions have amply demonstrated the fact that the mind of one person may act upon the mind and, through the mind, upon the body of another person, without the intervention of physical media. As an illustration of the ‘miracles’ of this class, we have the following experiment which was recently made in Paris, the facts of which are well authenticated: a pair of *cold* scissors were placed upon the breast of a woman, who by hypnotic suggestion was made to believe that they were red hot, and exactly the same effect was produced as if the scissors had really been red hot, that is, the skin was burnt and a blister was actually formed.

¹ The writer is indebted for this illustration to Prof. Oscar Holtzmann's *Life of Jesus*, p. 193 (English Edition).

With regard, however, to the 'miracles' of the third class—the influence of spirit upon inanimate matter without the intervention of any physical media—we have at present no instances in connection with the exertion of the human will. The human mind can, of course, produce results upon inanimate objects, not, however, directly, but only indirectly, through physical media, as when, for example, flax is converted into linen, or a tree into a table, but because we have no examples of such results produced without physical media by the human mind, it certainly does not follow that such results cannot be produced by the Divine Mind: indeed the creation of the Universe by the Divine Will would suggest that this is not merely a theoretical possibility, but an actual fact.

Now, if we look at the Gospel miracles we shall see that they may be classified in exactly the same way. To the first class belong such miracles as the Ascension and the walking on the sea; to the second class, the casting out of devils, the healing of the blind and the lame, and to the third class, the turning of the water into wine, the stilling of the storm and the feeding of the five thousand. So far as the Gospel miracles of the first and second class are concerned, experience shows that *similar* results are produced by the ordinary and extraordinary exertions of the human will. The results are similar, theoretically, though practically, of course, there is an enormous difference between them; between, for example, cases of levitation, such as have been performed before the Psychological Research Society, and the miracle of the Ascension, or between the restoration to health of a person suffering from nervous depression and the miraculous healing of the Gadarene demoniac, 'a raving and dangerous lunatic;' yet still the difference is one of degree, not of kind, for in each case the 'miracle' is the result of the action of mind either on its own body, or else on the minds and bodies of others, and the whole stress of the difficulty lies, not in the theoretical conception of the possibility of the modification of physical laws by a spiritual force, but in the

magnitude of the result produced. With regard to the miracles of the third class recorded in the Gospels, it is true that we have no actual parallels in the case of the ordinary exertions of the human mind, though, *à priori*, there is no reason why at some future date instances of such phenomena should not be discovered.

Thus it will be obvious that the difficulties which arise in connection with the Gospel miracles are not due to the fact that they are 'miracles,' that is, physical results due to spiritual causes, for such phenomena, so far from being impossible, are of every day occurrence, but are rather due to the fact that the human mind, though capable of producing results similar in kind to those recorded in the Gospels, cannot produce results similar in degree.

This being the case, adopting for the moment a different classification, we may say that there are two distinct kinds of miracles in the Gospels. First, those which we may term 'natural miracles,' because we can see effects which are to a certain extent similar, produced by the action of the human will; and we may regard as belonging to this class many of the miracles of healing, in cases of demoniacal possession, or of paralysis, or of epilepsy, and possibly also of blindness; and it is probable that, in the future, as our knowledge of the powers of the human will increases we may be able to include others in this class. And secondly, there are also others which we may term 'miraculous miracles,' or miracles proper; these are results due to spiritual causes, which are of such a character that they cannot be regarded as due to the action of any known powers of the human will, and therefore must, if they really took place at all, be due to some special and direct action of the Divine Will. In this class we should place such miracles as the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the raising of Jairus' daughter, the feeding of the five thousand, and so on.

No one can assert that the 'natural miracles' are impossible, and no one who accepts the view we have put

forward as to the relation of God to Nature can regard even the 'miraculous miracles' as impossible. It is true that these 'miraculous miracles' must be due to the direct action of the Divine Will, but there can be no objection to them solely on this ground. God, as we have tried to show, is ever at work in the Universe modifying and controlling physical laws, and no physical result can take place apart from the operation of the Divine Will. No one then is able to deny that God both can and does influence physical phenomena. The miracles are, it is true, extraordinary or abnormal results, yet still we see that even the human mind can produce extraordinary results by an extraordinary exertion of its powers; can we think, then, that it is impossible for the Divine Mind to produce at certain epochs extraordinary results differing from those which ordinarily accompany the ordinary actions of the Divine Will in the ordinary course of nature? Can we think that the Source of Life, that He who created and sustains life, was literally unable to bring back to life one who was dead, or that He, who year by year fulfills His promise that seed-time and harvest shall never fail, was literally unable to feed a multitude of men with a few loaves of bread? Surely not. Whether then we believe that God has or has not produced such results, we can scarcely say that, in the nature of things, it was impossible for Him to do so.

In conclusion, the definition of miracle which has already been given must be modified; in the papers which follow we shall only regard as miracles those events or phenomena occurring in the physical world which cannot be accounted for either by physical causes or by the exertion of any known powers of the human will, which must, therefore, be ascribed to the direct action of the Divine Will. All that we have tried to show, so far, is that such phenomena are not impossible, and it is difficult to see how any believer in God can reject this proposition. The vast majority of Theists would probably agree with Huxley, when he says, 'To deny the possibility of

miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative atheism.' ¹

Miracles, then, are not impossible. But granted this, we have to face a much more difficult question—have miracles ever happened? We have to consider the statement that a study of science and history has shown that miracles 'do not happen,' and this will form the subject of our next paper.

RICHARD BROOK.

PETENTIS PETITIO.

Make what is true more true to me;
Let fuller light appear;
All that is evil take from me;
All that is doubtful clear.

Let no false confidence betray,
No foolish fears mislead;
But in the right and narrow way
Be Thou my hope indeed.

Do more for me than I may know;
From self my will set free;
The perfect gift of love bestow,
That I Thy child may be.

¹ Quoted,—Article on Miracles in *Hastings' Dictionary*. Vol. III., page 385, § 17.

THE ROMANCE OF HYMNOLOGY.

Two new editions of English Hymn Books have lately been published.¹ Considerable attention has been aroused and a somewhat lengthy correspondence has ensued in some of the newspapers. Accordingly this is perhaps not an inappropriate moment to seek to direct the attention of church people to a more intelligent and a more detailed appreciation of the hymns they so constantly sing. I have nothing original to contribute to the subject. My paper is largely indebted to the standard works on hymns. But I would earnestly commend this fascinating story to my fellow churchmen to investigate for themselves, and if this scanty sketch, written, if I may so say, with one of the English hymn books in my hand, serves to stimulate their curiosity, my object will have been achieved.

Hymn singing has always been a precious heritage of the church of God. It comes down to us from Old Testament times. Evidently the music was one of the chief features of the services in the Temple. A good voice was one of the qualifications needful for a Levite. There was a trained choir of boys and men, and sometimes of women too. Many of the Psalms, it will be remembered, are dedicated to the Chief Musician,—the Precentor or Organist as we should call him. Asaph, whose name we often find prefixed to a Psalm, was the great choir-master of the day, and many of those perplexing titles which we often notice at the head of the Psalms are simply the names of the popular tunes to which they were sung. When we read, for example, that the 69th Psalm is set to Shoshanim, it is no more mysterious than to say that 'The Church's one Foundation' is set to *Aurelia*. Evidently

¹ *Church Hymns and Hymns Ancient and Modern.*

One of the most familiar pictures in the Acts is that of Paul and Silas singing together in the Philippian dungeon. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, a letter which was intended for circulation through the greater part of the Christian communities then in existence, St. Paul speaks of his friends 'singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord.'

That hymn singing was a prominent feature in Christian worship from the earliest times is proved by a very interesting incident. In the year 110 A.D., nearly 50 years after the death of St. Paul, a Roman magistrate named Pliny wrote to the Emperor asking for instructions as to the course he ought to pursue in dealing with the Christians in his district. He has not much to say against them. 'In fact,' these are his words, 'the amount of their fault or error is this; it is their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns (antiphonally) a hymn to Christ as to a God. And they bind themselves by an oath (the Latin word for which is sacramentum) not to commit any crime.' Some have thought that the hymn referred to is the *Gloria in Excelsis* which is now placed at the end of our Communion Service; but, though this wonderful hymn is probably 1500 years old at the least, we cannot be certain that it is the actual one of which Pliny speaks. Still it is interesting to notice that in the words of a Church historian,¹ 'the first sound which reached the Pagan ear from the secluded sanctuaries of Christianity was a hymn to Christ as God.'

It cannot have been so very long after this, probably less than 100 years, that the first Christian hymn was sung in Britain. We know that hymns were in common use long before the landing of St. Augustine and his monks from Rome.² There can be no doubt that years before the Norman Conquest sacred songs formed part of the repertoire of the old English gleemen. Caedman, the swineherd of Whitby, often called the father of English poetry, wrote a wonderful poem, and a translation or

¹ Dean Milman.

² St. Patrick was a hymn writer of no mean ability.

adaptation of some of his verses forms one of the hymns in use to-day.¹ There is a charming story which tells how Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury in the time of King Alfred, finding the country folk very difficult to reach either by sermon or service, used to take up his position on a bridge over which they frequently passed on their way to their villages, and there would sing to them by the hour to their great delight, first using only secular songs and then gradually introducing hymns, until George Herbert's words came true, as they so often come true still :—

“A verse may find him whom a sermon flies
And turn delight into a sacrifice.”

In spite of these significant instances in early days, the fact remains that the great majority of hymns sung in England before the Reformation were in Latin. One or two translations of Latin hymns are still to be found in our Prayer Book. The most famous of course is the *Veni Creator*, ‘Come Holy Ghost our souls inspire,’ which occurs in the Ordination Service and which is now found in almost every hymn book. This is a translation of a Latin hymn of the ninth century. The familiar and solemn sentences in our Burial Service beginning ‘In the midst of life we are in death’ are based on an ancient Latin hymn.² Another famous Latin hymn is the one known as *Salve festa dies*, ‘Hail festal day,’ of which there are translations in most of our hymn books, notably the magnificent Easter hymn beginning ‘Welcome happy morning, age to age shall say.’ To St. Ambrose, who might almost be called the father of Church music, we owe the originals of several of our favourite hymns: the beautiful morning hymn ‘Now that the daylight fills the sky,’ the advent hymn ‘Hark a thrilling voice is sounding,’ and the two exquisite evening hymns ‘O Strength and Stay upholding all creation’ and ‘Three in One and One in Three.’ One other Latin hymn deserves a special mention. The famous *Dies Irae*, ‘Day of Wrath! O day of mourning’ has not

¹ ‘We praise the King of realms on high.’ *Church Hymns* (new edition) 586.

² The ‘Media Vita’ of Notker.

unjustly been called the mediaeval masterpiece of sacred song. Sir Walter Scott introduces a translation of it into his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'

It will be noticed that in the new hymn books lately published there are a large number of Translations from Latin Hymns.¹ It is surely inspiring to think of our voices being thus linked to those of many hundreds and thousands of believers who sang God's praise in the ages long ago. No reference to Latin hymns would be complete without mention of the two great hymnwriters of the twelfth century, the two St. Bernards. To the first, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, we owe the original of that exquisite group of hymns of which 'Jesu, the very thought of Thee' is perhaps the best known. To the second, St. Bernard of Morlaix, we owe the beautiful poem called the 'Rhythm of the Heavenly Country' which in our books is split up into several favourite hymns, such as 'Jerusalem the golden,' 'Brief life is here our portion,' 'For thee, O dear, dear country.'

One word, I may perhaps be allowed to say in passing, as to the old Greek hymns reproduced in our hymn books. These are not many in number but they include some of the choicest of all.

To begin with there is the very ancient hymn perhaps as old as the 2nd century, 'Hail gladdening Light.' According to an old tradition the Christians used to sing this when the lamps were brought in at dusk. There was, it is said, an old and beautiful English custom probably based upon this, that when the lights were brought in at nightfall the people said, 'God send us the light of heaven.'²

F. THEODORE WOODS.

(To be continued.)

¹ Notably in the new editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and *Church Hymns*.

² *Hymns and their Stories*, p. 26.

ENGLAND'S HOUSING QUESTION.

PAST AND PRESENT.

1. THE PAST.

It is too often forgotten that the Housing Question in this country has a past. It is usually assumed that the evil of unnatural domestic conditions in city and village is a present day product.

Even the very able literature, which the Housing problem sometimes calls forth, contains little or no reference to the history which is at the back of 'the condition of England' controversy.

And our 'Housing Prophets,'—those who cry aloud and spare not concerning the evil—they seem to fail to draw inspiration from 'the goodly fellowship' of those, who in the same noble conflict blew the trumpet, and struck their blows, and are now gone.

The omission is loss. To say nothing of the lessons which History can always teach, if men will but study the record, it deprives Housing reformers of that strength, which comes from the consciousness that the battle they are fighting is not of yesterday, but of distant days, and that great men and high-souled women have shared in it, and have left their deeds and words to stimulate and to guide us who remain. We propose to look at this part of the Housing Question. By so doing we shall be enabled to better understand the present tremendous significance of the subject.

At the opening of the last century it was Wordsworth who began the strain of high complaint on behalf of those—

"barricaded evermore
"Within the walls of cities,"

(*Preface to "The Excursion."*)

and although 'Housing' was not specially singled out by him as something crying for reform, nevertheless his strong pleading for the city poor helped in no small degree to turn men's minds to what are now known as 'social problems.'

Carlyle came later with his 'hot thunderbolts' against the monstrous *laissez faire* policy of his day, and made his scathing answer to the 'practical man,' who wanted to know, 'What are

we to do?' and who finally declared the reforms asked for on behalf of the suffering poor to be 'impossible.' "Impossible!"—roared the Chelsea prophet—(quoting Mirabeau of French Revolution fame) "never name to me that blockhead of a word." (*Chartism*, p. 58, Popular Edition).

Contemporaneous with Carlyle was Dickens. Few men have thrown the searchlight of the public gaze upon the horrors of slum life more effectively than the great novelist did.

Take the following as a specimen of what Charles Dickens did to make England ashamed of her housing abominations:—

"Follow the clergyman or doctor, who, with his life imperilled at every breath he draws, goes down into dens, lying within the echoes of our carriage wheels and daily tread upon the pavement. Look round upon the odious sights—millions of immortal creatures have no other world on earth—at the lightest mention of which humanity revolts, and dainty delicacy, living in the next street, stops her ears and lisps—'I don't believe it!' Breathe the polluted air, foul with every impurity that is poisonous to health and life, and have every sense, conferred upon our race for its delight and happiness, offended, sickened, and made a channel by which misery and death alone can enter. Vainly attempt to think of any simple plant or flower, or wholesome weed, that, set in this foetid bed, could have its natural growth, or put its little leaves forth to the sun as God designed it. And then, calling up some ghastly child, with stunted form and wicked face, hold forth on its unnatural sinfulness, and lament its being, so early, far away from Heaven—but think a little of its having been conceived, and born, and bred, in Hell!"

Have we any living writer or speaker who can plead for Housing Reform with such vividness and force, and withal from such a commanding personality? Alas! we have not.

As early as 1845 the famous S.G.O. (the Rev. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne) began his powerful letters to the *Times*, and continued them at frequent intervals till 1878.

On January 9th, 1845, he wrote—"The cellars of our great towns, the clusters of hovels, called villages in the country, have had their inmost recesses explored;—their dirt, moral and physical, has been carefully and scientifically analysed, and it has been proved that tens of thousands of baptised beings live under circumstances to which no dog fancier would expose the health of the worst cur of his whole stock. The typhus, which preys on the human frame, wherever it is found debilitated by want of food, and poisoned for want of proper air, has, by official evidence, shown

to demonstration that war with all its horrors is but a child to it at the game of destruction. . . . The soul has its typhus too. There is that in the atmosphere of these crowded abodes, which stifles shame at its birth, forbids all attempts at decency, and makes the difference of sex and kin a thing more of form than of reality; how can the pure and holy religion of Christ take up her dwelling in such a climate as this?"

The biographer of S.G.O. tells us that the man, and we delight to think he was a clergyman of the Church of England, who for 33 years wrote like this in the premier newspaper of the world, 'received the shafts of hatred, calumny and aspersion from all sorts and conditions of men.' (Arnold White in *The Letters of S.G.O.*, Vol. I., xii.)

We are not surprised. But let present-day workers for the Housing reform take note of it. Theirs is an easier lot. The treatment inflicted upon the veterans of the Housing war mutely says to them, "YE have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin."

We come now to the real practical man of England's Housing movement—Lord Shaftesbury. To him more than to any man belongs the honour of 'girding himself up for actual doing'—to use Carlyle's phrase—in the matter of securing some housing improvement for the labouring classes.

In 1842 he assisted in founding what was then called 'The Labourer's Friend Society.' This was afterwards named, 'The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes.' Its object was not to house the people on a large scale, but rather to ventilate the whole question, and to keep in view the erection of model dwellings for all the varieties and grades of industrial life, and to show, in the buildings it would raise, what was necessary for the comfort and health and decency of the inmates. Economy in cost was to be aimed at. A fair return of interest on capital used was to be expected. The scheme had before it a higher object still. Its promoters wished to prove that, by such amelioration as they were about to strive for, 'the moral were almost equal to the physical benefits, and that although numbers would refuse or abuse the boon extended to them, many would accept it joyfully and turn it to good account.' (*Life of Lord Shaftesbury*. Popular Edition, p. 352.)

Two years later the scheme took definite shape and became operative. Prince Consort was its president.

The first model lodging house erected by the Society was in the parish of St. Giles—at that time one of London's worst neighbourhoods. It was intended for people coming up fresh to London from the country, or for others who, being already in London, wished to live in a place where some at least of the decencies of life were observed, and where a home could be made at a moderate rent.

Such was the beginning of that system of block dwellings which is now so prominent in the crowded districts of London.

In 1851 Lord Shaftesbury took another step forward in Housing Reform. On April 8th of that year he introduced into the House of Commons a Bill to 'Encourage the Establishment of Lodging Houses for the Working Classes.'

In this Bill it was proposed that towns or parishes having a population of 10,000 people should be enabled to build Model Lodging Houses; to raise loans; and to pay expenses from the rates.

The Bill passed—but it was so mutilated in its final handling by the House of Commons that it was only to a very limited extent put into operation, and ultimately it became a dead letter. (*Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, Popular Edition, p. 446.)

Thirty-four years had to elapse before the nation could secure its first real 'Housing Act.' It came as a result of a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the subject. The present King was one of its most interested and active members. The Bill was brought forward by Lord Salisbury in the year 1885, and became law.

Other Housing Acts have since been passed by the legislature. There is 'The Housing of the Working Classes Act' of 1890, which consolidates all previous Acts relating to the same subject. The bulk of the law relating to dwellings for England and Wales is, however, to be found in the Public Health Acts, which are not the same in and out of London. For places outside London the principle statute is 38 and 39 Vict., cap. 55, 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' as amended by 53 and 54 Vict., cap. 90, 'The Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1890.' For London, it is 54 and 55 Vict., cap. 76—'The Public Health (London) Act, 1891.' Both these Acts consolidate most of the law prior to their respective dates. The law relating to buildings is, as regards London, to be found in the great consolidating Statute, 57 and 58 Vict., cap. 213—'The London Building Act, 1894.' In addition, the Bye-laws

of the London County Council must also be consulted. Outside London the building regulations are usually to be sought in the local bye-laws, of which the only existing collection is that of the British Library of Political Science. (Mr. Sidney Webb, in *The House Famine*, published by the Fabian Society.)

Such in briefest outline is the past of England's Housing Question. We have of necessity been hurried in our survey. Names like those of Robertson of Brighton, Maurice, Kingsley, Tennyson, and of many others are in the roll call of housing reformers, but we have had to pass them by. And yet how their words would glow on our page, could we but give them place! Let us feel the fervour of one grand utterance only. It is Mrs. Browning's. She is dealing with the baffling sense of helplessness as one faces the situation which housing the crowded poor means.

"The whole creation from the hour we are born,
Perplexes us with questions. Not a stone
But cries behind us, every weary step,
"Where, where?" I leave stones to reply to stones.
Enough for me and for my fleshly heart
To hearken the invocations of my kind,
When men catch hold upon my shuddering nerves
And shriek, "What help? What hope? What bread i' the house?
What fire i' the frost?" There must be some response,
Though mine fail utterly. This Social Sphinx,
Who sits between the sepulchres and stews,
Makes mock and mow against the crystal heavens,
And bullies God,—exacts a word at least
From each man standing on the side of God,
However paying a Sphinx-price for it.
We pay it also if we hold our peace,
In pangs and pity. Let me speak and die."

Aurora Leigh. Book IV.

Truly, England's Housing Question in its past has glorious features in it. Were there no success in practical efforts to record—if no 'Housing Act' had been wrung from the legislature—and even if the lot of the masses were still wholly cast in 'the sepulchres and stews'—there would yet be much 'to thank God for,' and much to enable present day housing workers 'to take courage.' For after all it is not the actually visible conquests in a great war which constitute the best success of the victors. It is

the character shown—the deeds done—the spirit breathed by the men and women who helped to win the fight, and who, it may be, fell before the long striven for issues came.

Of the outstanding features which mark the history of England's Housing Question it is worth while to note the following. We can hardly have failed to be struck with the fact that the best minds and the most chivalrous souls have been attracted into its service. The mere recital of their names is sufficient to convince us of that, for were the men and the women who, by pen or speech, have pleaded during the past one hundred years for some improvement of the home life of the crowded English poor, to be removed from the pages of the national history, the record for that period would be as a sky with its brightest stars removed.

We have seen too that from the very outset the process of Housing Reform in this country has been 'in the teeth of clenched antagonisms.'

This is the usual experience of all movements which have for their objective the uprooting of great social evils and the planting in of better things, and therefore must be counted as part of the price which Housing Reformers expected to have to pay. Opposition has by no means ceased. It still fights, but it is no longer in full possession of all the main positions. The stronghold of 'vested interests' has been entered; public feeling has been aroused; Parliament has been forced to act; Local Authorities have been given a new sense of housing concern; and what is best of all, the terrible *vis inertia* of the victims of bad housing has been displaced by some amount at least of self-respect and self-effort.

Another remarkable thing in the past of Housing Reform is the completeness of its controversial equipment.

All that is urged to-day as pleas for better housing of the masses has been urged for more than fifty years. Some additional force may come from the more detailed housing statistics which we are now accustomed to receive, but no new grounds of appeal—no better case is made out now for the reform than when Lord Shaftesbury was making his demands.

The lesson to be learned from this is the good of steady perseverance. It is not new facts, nor yet new forces, which men must wait for when once they have a good cause in hand. Their true policy is to press forward with such knowledge as they have, and such help as they can command. And as the enterprise pro-

ceeds, it will usually be found that in as far as truth and justice are in the movement, so far will it appeal to the nation's sense of right, and thus win its sympathy and support.

The past of England's Housing Question is one long eloquent illustration of the words—*Res nolunt diu male administrari*, 'Things refuse to be mismanaged long.'

Checks to a rampant evil may not at first be seen. But, as Emerson reminds us,¹ they exist, and sooner or later will appear.

The very instinct of progress—the sense in man that we are meant not to fall but to rise—is a check. And herein lies much of the explanation of the part which England's best men and women have played in the history of Housing Reform. They called to the Nation for better things, simply because their own enlightened manhood and womanhood 'could not away' with the wholesale corrupting of human life, which the bad housing of their day necessarily meant. They felt that so long as vast masses of English people rotted in 'the sepulchres and stews' they could not remain indifferent and dumb. They must protest. They must bear witness against the monstrous evil. They must strive until better things prevailed. And thence has sprung all the noble struggling for reform which England's Housing Question can now show.

At the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, which was held at York the other day, it was said by one of the speakers, "We were not responsible for the past—we were not responsible for the England we found, but we were responsible for the England we left, and it was in that spirit that the members of the Conference should undertake their work." (Mrs. Creighton, vide *Guardian*, November 16th, 1904.)

This was the feeling of those whose efforts we have been considering, and the fact that the feeling now finds admirable expression at the lips, and in the service of not a few but many able and devoted women in our land, is proof that the veterans of the Housing War have not striven in vain.

HENRY LEWIS.

¹ Essay on 'Compensation.'

REVIEWS.

Amongst recently published volumes of sermons, one, **On the Church of England**,¹ by the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, should occupy a place in the foremost rank. We gather from his preface that the long and severe illness which he has recently undergone was responsible for his consenting to the publication of 'a small collection of sermons and addresses.' In that case, we cannot refrain from remarking, his illness has not been wholly valueless, if it has resulted in giving to the world the collection which goes to fill the pages of this volume. They are scholarly in thought, moderate in tone, and helpful in their application; and cannot fail to appeal to all moderate Churchmen. Six are Ordination sermons, five were preached at Church Congresses, and the rest were delivered mainly in Oxford and his late diocese.

The first, 'The Spirit of Faction,' is a plea for the continued existence, within reasonable limits, of different parties in the Church. Dr. Ryle draws attention to what the great movements, originating in opposite parties, have done to further the good of the whole Church. The Evangelical Revival at the beginning of the last century, and the Oxford movement some forty years later, are both cited. 'We want the strength of all parties,' he declares, 'and the tyranny of none.' Yet there are limits beyond which it is 'a betrayal of a sacred trust' to go, and he affirms that

"until the Church shall definitely renounce its distinctively reformed position, three or four of the main topics of recent controversy, such as Transubstantiation, the Adoration of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints, Prayers for the Dead in public worship, and compulsory Confession before admission to the Holy Communion, have no place in the loyal conformity to the teaching and usages of our Church."

Another chapter is of interest at this present time, when the Dean of Canterbury is advocating his 'Appeal to the first Six Centuries.' Dr. Ryle, discussing 'The Appeal to Antiquity as a Principle in the Reformation Settlement,' quotes Dr. Horne, the Elizabethan divine, where he wrote:

"And by 'the custom of the primitive Church' we mean the order most generally used in the Church for the space of 500 years after

¹ *On the Church of England*. Sermons and Addresses by Herbert Edward Ryle, D.D., Bishop of Winchester. Crown 8vo., 272 pages, 6s. (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company.)

Christ, in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c."

All through the volume the one theme outstanding others relates to the real origin and real position of the Church of England; where it differs in essentials from other branches of the Catholic Church; what doctrines of the latter it has seen fit to repudiate; and wherein consists its true claim to catholicity. Hence we find chapters on 'The Invocation of the Saints,' 'The Adoration of the Virgin,' wherein the treatment accorded them is only what a temperate judgment would assume. The whole book is full of trenchant and pertinent utterances, and we cannot do better than quote a few:—

"And in God's sight, I solemnly call you to witness that, by virtue of the modern study of the Holy Scriptures, the Bible has become to some of us, and I believe to thousands of my own and a yet younger generation, a more living, a more powerful, and a more sacred volume. I do not ask you . . . to agree with this or that opinion, but I humbly ask that you will do justice to the motives of English scholars, and that you will respect the humble endeavours of men like myself (however erroneous some of you may regard our method) to carry on the great Protestant tradition of Bible study, and to base a living interpretation upon the free and unprejudiced investigation of the words of the sacred books.

"The days of hard reading are almost past. Men live in a hurry. The evening comes, and the brain is too weary for study, and the intellect too untrained for the subjects which bewilder it.

"The difficulties and errors of the seventeenth century have not disappeared. Men and women cannot understand that a Church may truly be a Church and yet a corrupt one; they therefore leap to the conclusion that a reformed Church must be a new one which has taken the place of an old one. The Church of Rome is a true Church though corrupt and unreformed; the Church of England is an old and true Church, though reformed.

"During the whole of the last century, right on to the present moment, there has been constant progress. And some are bewildered and hang back. Men turn and wonder what has happened. The old men have served their generation; what shall the younger men do? Theirs not to doubt; theirs not to fear; theirs not impatiently to cry, the work is over; theirs not to say the prophet's function in the land is exhausted. Never was it more intensely needed. Only let her men see in the change the chariot of God, only recognise the new call, that England may in the new age not be wanting, and the mantle which she bears shall not pass out of her possession."

The Epistle of St. James,' with an Introduction and Notes. By R. J. KNOWLING, D.D. Messrs. Methuen have added another volume to their excellent series, *The Westminster Commentaries*. Dr. Lock, the general editor, has stated the object of the series in a brief prefatory note, where we learn that the commentaries aim at combining 'a hearty acceptance of critical principles with loyalty to the Catholic Faith.' Few who have read the volumes which have already appeared, will be prepared to deny that their authors have been wonderfully successful in discharging the task which was laid upon them. The more ponderous volumes of a former day, with their closely packed notes, were dull reading for 'the average man,' whose time did not permit of the careful study which alone could extract the broad idea from the wearisome mass of detail. This series has been happy in its efforts to meet the needs of 'the growing number of educated laymen and laywomen who wish to read the Bible intelligently and reverently,' while it is none the less admirably suited to 'the theological student and the clergy.'

But to return to the commentary in question. Dr. Knowling reviews, in an Introduction of considerable length, the progress which the Epistle has made through the fierce fire that a hostile criticism directed against it. The reader soon perceives in Dr. Knowling a sturdy champion of that traditional view which assigns to the Epistle an early date, and calls St. James its author: nor is there wanting in his defence a due consideration of detail, a careful sifting of the evidence, and a refreshing common sense. Clearing the ground as he proceeds, he shows strong reasons for believing that the men addressed in the Epistle were Jews and Christian Jews. He then examines the possibility that the writer was a Jew of Palestine, and even a hearer of our Lord, and finally he supports, on weighty grounds, the contention that St. James, the Lord's brother, was its author.

Some have admitted that the Epistle is such as we should imagine St. James would write, but instead of allowing this fact to point to St. James as the author, they see in it merely an evidence of its fictitious character. To all such Dr. Knowling pertinently remarks that 'anyone who wished to palm off an Epistle as the work of St. James, the brother of the Lord, would scarcely have been satisfied with the Epistle as it is; he would have placed the matter beyond doubt, as far as lay in his power;' he would, for instance, have introduced some reference to the Lord's Resurrection.

When the objector advances the argument that St. James could not have written an Epistle in Greek, Dr. Knowling not only

¹ *The Epistle of St. James, with an Introduction and Notes.* By R. J. Knowling, D.D. Demy 8vo., 6s. (Messrs. Methuen & Co.)

opposes him with words of Prof. Reuss, 'What do we really know of the means of culture of any particular Apostle?' but he advances plausible reasons for the belief that St. James would not be ignorant of Greek.

With regard to the oft discussed literary dependence between St. James and the Epistle to the Romans, Dr. Knowling concludes that the question of such dependence must be an open one, but he treats less gently the ingenuity of those who have brought the more fanciful charge of literary dependence upon the extra-canonical writings of Hermas and of Philo. He does not hesitate to affirm that 'in no one instance has the literary dependence of St. James been proved.'

As an example of the methods by which some of the further objections to the traditional view of authorship and date are met we quote the author's own words. In reply to Jülicher's objection that a discussion of faith and works in relation to salvation could not be found before the time of St. Paul's wide activity, he says :—

"If St. James' Epistle is not a document of Primitive Christianity, then we are not in a position to say whether such a discussion could find any place or not, for we have no other writing of this early period to help us to an answer, since St. Paul's earliest Epistles were addressed, not to Jewish but to mixed Churches."

Or to another objection :—

"We may be pardoned for thinking it would be still more ridiculous for an unknown writer to attempt to pass himself off as St. James of Jerusalem, without making the slightest effort to claim the title of Apostle or Elder, or in any way of a leader of the Church, and to address from his obscurity an Epistle to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion."

In yet another place he would seek to play off against one another the theories of rival critical schools :—

"An Epistle cannot be a document of the second century, it cannot come to us from the reign of Hadrian, or even later, with nothing to indicate Jewish Christianity, either in writer or readers, and and at the same time be a product of the Judaism of the first century B.C., with nothing Christian in the writer or in those to whom the letter was addressed."

It is the function of the introduction in the *Westminster Commentaries*, to state the bearing of modern criticism and research upon the historical character of the book of which it treats, and to draw out the contribution which that book, as a whole, makes to the body of religious truth. As a consequence the introduction constitutes a large section of each volume. In the present instance it closes with a valuable and suggestive chapter on *Modern Life*,

and some Aspect of the Teaching of St. James. Space forbids us to do more than briefly quote one passage:—

“We may see how in an intellectual age, in an age which boasts itself in ‘the irresistible maturing of the general mind,’ St. James would recall men to the knowledge that true wisdom is first of all pure; not primarily intellectual, or metaphysical, but spiritual and moral.”

The text, illustrated with copious notes, occupies the bulk of the book, which closes with four additional notes. The last of these deals with *Prayer*, but it is disappointing to find so scanty a fragment devoted to this interesting subject; and, especially in view of Sir Oliver Lodge’s recent article in the *Hibbert Journal*, to which the author briefly alludes, we should have welcomed a more thorough and lengthy discussion.

Charitable Relief.¹ By CLEMENT F. ROGERS, M.A. If there is one demand which men of the present day, and working men in especial, make from the clergy and from all professing Christians, it is the demand for a practical Christianity, a Christianity whose open and active love for men gives proof of a hidden love for God. It is this which makes us welcome every effort that is calculated to arouse the charitable spirit, and, where it is already roused, to guide it into paths of usefulness. We have read with especial pleasure the present book, which has the triple virtue of a price so low that it is within the reach of all, of a directness of style which robs but few moments from the busy man, and of a thoroughness which digs beneath the surface and leaves the reader in possession, not of a rule which applies to a single case, but of a principle which will mould every act. When we realise the positive harm which ill-directed charity has wrought, we shall rightly value a book like the one which Mr. Rogers has given to us.

The first chapter is concerned with an examination of *The Christian Conception of Charity*, a subject which naturally resolves itself into an examination of the life of our Lord from this particular point of view. Among the many interesting observations to which this examination naturally leads, Mr. Rogers rightly emphasises the personal element in our Lord’s charity:—

“He adopted no wholesale schemes of relief. When numbers were too great, He had recourse to organisation, by which alone the personal element in well-doing can be retained, and divided the five thousand into fifties, working through His disciples. Otherwise He individualised men: ‘Lazurus, come forth’; ‘Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.’”

¹ *Charitable Relief*. By the Rev. Clement F. Rogers, M.A. Crown 8vo., 175 pages, 2s. 6d. (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London.)

None can plead exemption from the duty of charitable relief, for 'moral evils directly or indirectly lie at the root of the misery that cries for relief, and on this account, even if the actual administration of relief is out of any particular clergyman's hands, the principles on which it is based are his concern.'

We are warned that distress is a disease, and the first step to a cure is a careful diagnosis; the nature of the trouble must be discovered, and a patient examination of all the factors is essential. The labour which this involves is responsible for its frequent neglect, and the result is a total failure to achieve the true object of all charity—the cure of the disease. The satisfaction of the conscience of the giver, and the removal of the pain which the sight of distress brings to him, should never be the ruling motives; a radical and permanent relief of the sufferer must be the first concern.

The task of administering to the wants of poverty-stricken people is less simple than many people seem to imagine, and demands for its wise performance the highest qualifications in those who undertake it. Well trained powers of observation will prevent many blunders, and the author in an interesting and useful chapter, reviews a few of the many occasions where they may be employed with advantage:—

"There are few things that people are more misled by than the appearance of the home. Even experienced workers often find it difficult to believe that a wretched and dirty home is not necessarily a poor one, or to convince themselves that another, spotlessly clean and tidy, can belong to a person in want."

'A practised eye will easily distinguish neglected children from those which are merely untidy. The photographs on the mantelpiece are signs of the strength of the family feeling, and the position of relations; the union or club card hanging upon the wall is an indication of the worth of the husband; the piano, the shelf of books, or the bicycle tell of the interest of the various members of the family.'

It is the sense of the magnitude of the work which the clergy are undertaking which leads Mr. Rogers to urge them to gain for themselves 'a grasp of the chief principles of Economics and Sociology.' Inasmuch as they set and direct 'a policy of charity, this is especially necessary for them, if they are to see what their undertakings will lead to.'

After all 'prevention is better than cure,' and it is withal a happier and more hopeful task. In a chapter of considerable length the question of the ways and means which may be used to check, at their source, the evils which produce distress, is amply discussed, and the many wise warnings and judicious suggestions which it contains form a fitting conclusion to a useful book.

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Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

Chr.: Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. I.

FEBRUARY, 1905.

No. 2.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Changing Attitude.

It was no ill-considered observation which was made recently by one of the most honoured of Oxford teachers when he said that in the last thirty years he had noticed, with increasing pleasure, that a change was passing over the thought of the University and its Schools. The materialism of the days of Huxley and Tyndal were yielding place to a larger view. The claim of other factors—spiritual factors—had pressed for recognition, and their appeal had not been made in vain.

If this is the case in the thought of a university, and we rejoice to believe that the statement has solid foundation in fact, it is, we are convinced, none the less true of the larger world outside its quiet walls. Many well-meaning persons, with their pessimistic utterances, would fill us with gloomy foreboding. But we think there is greater cause for hope than fear. We recognise that there are features in every walk of life which must disquiet those who look for progress in religion and righteousness, but we cannot fail to see that the sources of

encouragement are greater than the grounds for gloom. In the utterances of the daily press, which has repeatedly opened wide its columns to discuss the higher aspirations and concerns of the human race, no less than in the awakening conscience which seeks to acquit itself of its duty to its fellow-man, we have evidence that religious longings, and the moral reforms to which they so frequently give rise, are not dead, but are seen by their fruits to be still active in our midst, though shaping themselves at times in unfamiliar forms.

Never was so wide an interest displayed in the unhappy lot of multitudes of our city poor. Never perhaps have the clergy worked with more strenuous zeal, or greater ability, to cope with the practical difficulties to which the complex conditions of modern life give rise, and never has their work been more nobly supported by laymen than at this present time, when many seem to be awakening to a sense of their responsibilities. Boys' brigades, lads' clubs and university settlements are but the growth of yesterday. The papers are full of well intentioned schemes for assisting the unfortunate poor. The methods suggested may be often crude, and sometimes dangerous, but the desire to help is present and half the battle won. Our systems of punishment are criticised and vigorous efforts made to reform the criminal. And within the last few months, largely as the result of agitation by leaders of children's work in the slums, steps have been taken to draw the child offender from the dark surroundings of the common court, by providing special courts in which their cases may be tried. All these attempts, and many more, have as the mainspring of their development a religious motive which quickens the moral fibre and nerves to a fresh endeavour.

In all this forward move the Press takes an active part. It is instinct with the spirit of a broader tolerance. The leading journals of the daily press discuss matters which once were shunned, and in general the discussion is neither frivolous nor light. In the New Year's message which formed

the leading article of one of the most popular papers¹ we were pleased to read these wise and hopeful words:—

“Without moral progress material gain means nothing—it is as the fruit of the Dead Sea which turns to ashes as we contemplate it. Nor can it be forgotten that by some inscrutable decree of Providence great material prosperity has often preceded or accompanied a moral collapse. Yet it is something that in these opening years of the new century we are able to point to the increasing strength of that “antiseptic of the soul,” faith, and to note that science at last has ceased its warfare upon religion, and that where a generation ago the greatest minds denied, to-day the greatest minds hold with one accord to their belief in

One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off Divine event
To which the whole creation moves.”

Auguste Sabatier.

On April 12th, 1901, the Protestant world in France lost a leader from her Theological Schools whose energy, no less than his scholarship, had won for him a place in the fore-front of her literary activity. Sabatier's life had been one of strange vicissitude. At the age of thirty-three when his learning had won for him an honourable place on the staff at the University of Strasbourg, and when domestic joys bid fair to fill his cup with happiness, the Franco-German war left him homeless, alone, and friendless: an outcast in Paris. Strasbourg had become German, and, closing its doors upon the French, had driven the young professor forth from within its walls. To complete the bitterness his young wife died.

But Strasbourg's loss was Paris' gain, and Sabatier's ceaseless endeavours soon restored his fallen fortunes. The many sides of his nature and the variety of his labours astonish us, and like most really busy men his life was so carefully ordered that it displayed no signs of hurry and purposeless haste. His important position on the editorial staff of the great political newspaper *Le Temps*; his responsibilities as Dean of the

¹ *Daily Mail*.

Protestant Theological Faculty in Paris ; and the never-ending books, lectures, reviews, and correspondence which flowed from his pen, bear witness to an abundance of labour and a striking personality. But his arduous toils, and the controversies in which he took so prominent a part, never robbed him of his simple piety. His last words on earth are typical of his attitude through life. 'My Father,' he said, 'I entrust to Thy care all those I love and am leaving. I have many more things to say and to do, but I yield myself to Thee.'

"Religions of Authority and Religions of the Spirit."

Dr. Sabatier's chief interest for us lies in the books which he wrote, and particularly in that one, *Religions of Authority and Religions of the Spirit*, which, at his special and anxious request, was published by his friends, after death had prevented him from completing the work he had contemplated. His other books have gained a wide circle of admirers. English readers and English writers owe many useful ideas to his thesis on St. Paul ; and the *Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion* have been widely read and justly valued.

In all his books, and not least in this the last, there is the clearness and the sparkle which we so frequently observe in French authors. Yet in many parts of his work we have a suspicion that we are satisfied with the brilliancy, where in another writer we should have asked for greater depth, for a more thorough investigation into the heart of things, for a more satisfying solution to the problems he had raised. He seems at times to be more adroit at stating a problem than skilful in solving it. We are particularly struck with this characteristic in *Religions of Authority and Religions of the Spirit*. It is excellent and stimulating, and often admirably catches, and clothes with words, many thoughts which are 'in the air.' It is fascinating to read, and yet it leaves us with a feeling that in some of the more important parts where we looked for construction the treatment is vague and inadequate.

The first section of this book is an effort to set aside the Roman dogma of authority, as it shows itself in her notions of the Church, of Tradition, of the Episcopate, and of the Papacy. He then seeks to show that Protestantism, while shaking itself free from the fetters of these Roman dogmas of authority, revived the principle in another form. The dogma of the Infallibility of the Bible was the 'Protestant dogma of authority.' He shows the effect which research in all its branches has had in modifying our present view of this authority.

The last section of his book is where we shall probably be most disappointed. His explanation of the 'curious phenomenon' of the 'persistence of authoritative forms in Christianity, which was proclaimed to the world a religion of the Spirit,' is not wholly convincing, if we consider how little account is taken of the organic way in which Christian dogma arose and was moulded in the course of its development. He would have us attribute 'the persistence of authoritative forms' partly 'to an innocent and natural delusion of popular faith, which in its first stage of development transfers the supernatural and divine character of its object to those organs by which the divine communicates itself and makes itself known.' Partly he explains it as the projection of Judaistic and pagan ideas into the Christianity which followed them. In other words he views these authoritative forms as a survival of earlier religious ideas which will ultimately drop off from the religion of the Spirit. But all this looks upon Christian dogmas as mere dead forms, mere survivals, and fails to perceive in them any organic growth and development; fails to see that they have been dependent upon and have grown up with human experience.

His explanation, however, is suggestive, and although we do not think it wholly satisfactory or final, insomuch as it ignores certain of the factors, it has elements which must assist us to a more just estimate of a subject of primary importance.

The Early Reformers and the Doctrine of the Infallibility of Scripture.

Dr. Sabatier's contention, that the dogma of the Infallibility of Scripture was imported into Protestantism at some considerable time after the earlier days of that movement, may possibly be open to the objection that it is based too exclusively upon the attitude and writings of one or two of the more prominent individuals who took an active part in its original organisation. Whether this is the case or not, the discussion as far as it relates to these individuals is not without its interest and profit.

It is an astonishment to many people to learn that Luther and others among the early Reformers neither inherited a definite doctrine of the Infallibility of Scripture, nor themselves maintained one. And yet we cannot but think that the facts, if duly considered, will lead us to this conclusion. Luther embodied the ideals and tendencies of his day and his strong spiritual aspirations refused to be satisfied with a presentation of Christian truth which had grown corrupt. In order to discover the real message of Christianity he turned again to the early sources whence he could learn in its most pure form the true history of our Lord's life, and gain an adequate idea of its significance. The Bible carried him nearest to those times and as he studied its pages and the story of the wonderful Life of which it spoke, there awoke in him a new consciousness, a Christian consciousness, and his religious longings were satisfied.

For him the Scriptures contained 'The word of God,' and they became a lamp to his feet and a light to his path. They had turned his woe into joy, and in his eager enthusiasm he exalts them and wages warfare by their means. He would point all men to them. But he did not identify the Biblical collection with the 'Word of God'; far otherwise. He did not make the Bible a book of prescriptions, nor did he place equal value upon every part of Scripture. To Luther the Scriptures were the handmaid of Christianity and not its mistress. They carried him nearest to its events; they taught him as no other writing had ever done or could ever do about the great facts

of our faith: they were unique, but to him they did not lie apart from and above criticism. They were to be tested by the Christian consciousness, and with the newly-awakened Christian consciousness criticism awoke.

When Luther first studied the Bible, no general council had ever defined the boundary line between inspired and uninspired. The Apocrypha lay side by side with the Old and New Testaments, and to this very day the Roman Church includes it within her canon.

The study of the Scriptures, then, gave Luther an access to a new and spiritual life, and in the freedom of that life he criticised the Biblical collection. While he raised some books to a higher plane, and assigned to others an inferior place, there were whole writings which he condemned and would banish. His translation of the Bible still lies before us, and if we read its preface we may learn the principle in accordance with which he exercised his judgment. He shows how each, even the humblest Christian, can distinguish the 'Word of God.' This is the translation of his words:—

'Christ is the Master, the Scriptures are the servant. Here is the true touchstone for testing all the books: we must see whether they work the works of Christ or not. The book which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, were St. Peter or St. Paul its writer. On the other hand, the book which teaches Christ is apostolic, were its author Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod. . . John accords little space to the acts of Christ, much to His words. The other Gospels say much of His acts, less of His teaching. This is why the former is the chief Gospel, unique, most precious, the one to be preferred above all others. In fact the Gospel of John and his First Epistle, the Epistles of Paul, particularly those to the Romans, the Galatians and the Ephesians, and the First Epistle of Peter, those are the books which show thee Christ, and teach thee all that is good and necessary for thee to know, though thou shouldst never hear nor see any other books. As for the others, the Epistle of James is a veritable Epistle of Straw, for there is nothing

evangelical in it'; or again 'Nevertheless the essential abideth and the fire consumes the rest.'

We have reason, and we think good reason, in dissenting from the conclusions at which Luther arrives in his estimate of many of the Biblical books. In particular, a more modern, and a wider view entirely discountenances his contempt for the General Epistle of St. James. But we think the present is no unsuitable time to notice that the early Reformers exercised the right of a free criticism. With all their faults, and we do not deny that they were many, and with all the partial views to which those unhappy times gave rise, they were men of strength, and recognised some Christian privileges which many of their later followers have since denied.

If there are some in our day who, with literary weapons of greater precision, with scientific methods which are more sure, with the help of vast research and ever accumulating facts, whose spirit is as earnest and their faith as strong, shall suffer their heart and intellect to walk in the light which God has given to them, shall we condemn their efforts and refuse to hear their voice?

"Was Christ born in Bethlehem?"

Was Christ born in Bethlehem is the title of a book written by Professor Ramsay, and published in 1898 by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. There is need of an apology in referring to a book which by not a few in these hurrying days, when men continually seek some new thing, would be impatiently dismissed as ancient. The apology which we offer is based upon the fact that the book is so seldom read by many of those to whom its pages would afford great interest and no little re-assurance, in times when the Gospel narratives are the subject of minute and critical investigation, and when their historic accuracy is frequently called in question. The diffuse character of the book, and the somewhat popular style in which it embodies facts of great importance, while they need be no barrier to the scholar, are certainly an advantage to the ordinary reader who

asks for a plain statement in language which he can comprehend. The discussions which are raging around the question of our Lord's birth have come in dim echoes to the ears of the majority of men, who are beginning to recognize that the view we take of the early narratives of St. Luke's Gospel will be an important factor in all future debates upon this momentous subject.

To the question, Was St. Luke a credible historian? many have answered in a decided negative, and have based their argument upon certain supposed inaccuracies which it is the purpose of Professor Ramsay to disprove. They deny that Augustus ever ordered an enrolment of the whole world, and affirm that even had he done so the enrolment could not have extended, contrary to all custom, to Palestine, which was an independent kingdom, and not subject to the orders of Augustus. They further insist that supposing the census had been enforced in Palestine 'there would have been no necessity for Joseph and Mary to go up to Bethlehem, inasmuch as a Roman census would be made according to the existing political and social facts, and would not require that persons should be enrolled according to their place of birth or origin.' More important is their objection that 'no census was ever held in Judæa until A.D. 6-7, on the ground that the 'great census' (Acts v. 37) is described by Josephus as something novel and unheard of, rousing popular indignation and rebellion on that account;' and finally, they confidently declare that 'Quirinius never governed Syria during the life of Herod, for Herod died in 4 B.C., and Quirinius was Governor of Syria later than 3 B.C., and probably in 2 or 1 B.C.' Therefore a census taken in the time of Quirinius could not be associated with the birth of a child 'in the days of Herod, King of Judæa.'

We can here do little more than hint at the broad features of Professor Ramsay's defence against the attacks which have been made upon the historical accuracy of St. Luke's Gospel.

It is practically certain that St. Luke is the author, both of the Gospel which bears his name and of the Acts, and we

may conclude that the trustworthiness of the compiler of the joint histories is to be judged by the characteristics which each present. It is further evident from his preface that the writer of the Gospel believed his narrative to rest upon the highest authority, and to be fully accurate in the events which it records. To attribute to him any impure design of inventing, by historical allusions, a circumstantial setting for the narratives of our Lord's birth, shows an utter insensibility to the delicacy and fineness of character which he displays in every page of the books he has handed down to us.

The next line of argument depends upon the assertion, which a great weight of evidence is ready at hand to prove, that St. Luke wrote his histories for Roman readers. That he could hardly have written for Jews we may readily understand if we consider the explanations of Semitic names and terms, and the descriptions of Palestinian scenery. The Roman form of the epithet with which Theophilus is addressed; the special emphasis which is laid upon the support which Christianity received from the Roman authorities, and many details even more convincing than these, weigh the scales heavily in favour of the view that St. Luke wrote to a Roman audience.

Granting this, it is difficult to charge him with a blunder which would reveal a serious ignorance of Roman affairs, and would make his history ridiculous and worthless in Roman eyes. Is it not rather probable that he was justified in his statements, and that the remarkable knowledge of places, of customs, and of events, which is the peculiar characteristic of his treatment in the Acts, did not fail him here, when alluding to so important an event as the enrolment of Augustus.

St. Luke's statements imply that during the first century there 'must have prevailed a system of numbering the population at periodic intervals in the Syrian Province.' Such a statement was thought incredible not many years ago, but discoveries recently made in Egypt have afforded it ample support. Manuscripts relating to regular enrolments have been

found, and the references have been so explicit that we now know that fourteen years elapsed between the successive enrolments, and that the actual years in which these occurred were A.D. 90, 104, 118, &c. Going backwards in steps of fourteen years we discover that one of these periodic enrolments would occur in the year B.C. 23, which is the very year in which Augustus began his imperial rule in its 'most formal and complete sense.' Further evidence is adduced to show that a fourteen-years' cycle, which began in the year B.C. 8 was in existence in the Province of Syria.

We learn from Josephus that the closing years of Herod's reign were darkened by the displeasure of Augustus. The great emperor sought to humiliate the Syrian king. It was a situation which might admirably account for the enforced census. Few things would be so degrading to a proud Syrian despot as the compulsion to render an account of his subjects to a foreign emperor. The diplomatic steps by which he sought to delay the mandate, and the partial relenting of the emperor who ultimately enforced obedience, would well delay the enrolment to a later than the periodic date. And when finally the enrolment was enforced, can we not see in the permission allowing the people to be enrolled by their tribe, and not by the locality in which they lived, a concession to the susceptibilities of the Jewish race, and a diplomatic act which was calculated to gratify the Jewish pride?

We are assured that a study of Professor Ramsay's book will be useful, and cannot fail to be interesting, to any who would pursue the subject to a greater length.

Is War a Necessity?

War in our day though less frequent and less widely diffused, is waged on a scale so vast, that the preparation for its performance, and the terror of its vehemence, far outstrip in magnitude and horror the struggles of an earlier age. Week by week rumours reach us of appalling slaughter and hopeless

misery : we shrink from our daily paper with its gloomy tale, and are tempted to ask if the hope for a day when war shall cease is a mere delusive dream.

There are not wanting men, and able men, who tell us that war is a necessity, and who make their assertion none the less perplexing and none the less dangerous, when they enforce it with arguments which are not without some elements of truth. They urge that a growing country cannot cease to grow, and its growth would be impossible except by war, for only force will make the weak surrender to the strong: they say that science sees in war a foremost factor in the social evolution of mankind: they tell us that war is the supreme test of human worth, and that peace can only be enjoyed when the strong restrain the weak by the greatness of their might. To those who argue thus, true peace appears impossible and arbitration is a farce. The Hague Conference in 1899, and the Peace Conference, held recently at Boston in America, are the subject of their scorn as they strive to show that the smooth words in council abroad, were belied by the greater zeal in warlike schemes at home. Russia, France, England and Germany could talk lightly of peace while they strained every nerve in their efforts to prepare for war.

Such gloomy words should fall on the deaf ears of those who have learnt to trust the wisdom of Him, Who said 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.' Christendom may have learnt with the flight of centuries that a sudden end of war is not to be looked for, but its belief that a distant day will come when the nations shall learn war no more, when men shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks, rests upon no insecure foundations.

We do not deny that in the past war has played a not inconsiderable part in the social evolution of mankind, but we decline to believe that it is an indispensable factor in the future progress of the human race. A recent utterance of Sir Oliver Lodge quickens the hope that science will disallow the plea that

is put forward in her name. 'It is sometimes preached' he says 'that the struggle for existence ought to continue, or the 'human race will become degenerate. I say no. . . . It 'is no longer a blind struggle for existence as it was before we 'came into being. It is now a conscious organisation. . . . 'Nations organize for war but they have not yet learned to 'organise for peace.'

In reply to the contention that war is the supreme test of human worth, we are quick to acknowledge that the grandest qualities of humanity may be seen upon the battlefield. But human worth is not less tried and proved by the loyalty to duty and the patience in suffering displayed by multitudes who do and bear, who are called upon to sacrifice health and happiness, and even life itself, in surroundings which afford no stimulus of applause, no comradeship in the troubles of their lot.

As for the peace which comes by fear of might, it is not true peace: it is oppression: men will not embrace at the cannon's mouth. It is the meek, not the mighty, who shall inherit the earth. .

If we would read aright the signs of the times in which we live, we must compare them with the centuries which have gone before. In a view which embraces past and present, the happenings of to-day will gain a new significance, and the tendencies which history reveals will afford encouragement to those who look for peace. The failure of one attempt will not cloud their hope, and the slow advent of the reign of peace will not obscure its certainty. The tide is not turned by the backwash of a single wave.

Those who read the history of our own land will see how our Teutonic forefathers, as they fought their way to victory, gloried in deeds from which a soldier would recoil in horror now. Women and children were the spoils of war and were slain in their thousands. Thorpe, in his *Northern Mythology*,

says of these times, 'a rough plenty at home and the bloody game of war abroad were the only delights of this race.'

But with the flight of years the spirit of the people underwent a change, and though Gibbon could say that 'in the eleventh century every peasant was a soldier and every village a fortification,' the slaughter of women and children was no longer in accordance with the fashion of the age. In Tudor times men ceased to kill for pure delight, and the Cavalier and Roundhead fought, not for love of war but for principle and with a grave regret. War has now long been banished from our land, and no living man can recall the day when its scourge laid waste our meadows and our villages. The echoes of civil strife have grown faint with the lapse of centuries. Human sympathy has conquered jealousy and hate. What appeared impossible to other days has been accomplished now, and the principle to which we owe the change is at work in the wider sphere of human affairs. The result may be hidden yet, but the signs of its progress are significant. In Lord Lansdowne's speech at the Guildhall, in November of last year, when he told of five recent disputes settled by arbitration; in the efforts of M. Delcassé in France, and Mr. Hay in America; in the awakening sense of responsibility which, at a recent meeting of journalists in London, caused the representatives of the press to denounce the publication of the extravagant utterances of a section of foreign opinion as though it were the voice of the nation at large, we see the faint streaks of light which bespeak the dawn of a happier day. The progress of commerce and invention, which annihilate distance and remove the ancient bounds, is widening human sympathy and dissolving national prejudice. It may be centuries beyond us yet, it may be nearer than we dare to hope, but we still believe that, be it far or near, the day will come when men will settle their disputes by simpler means than an appeal to arms.

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In respect of the historical foundation of the Christian Religion the natural desire of the human heart for infallibility is not infrequently disappointed. In broad outline, the evidence may be of such a kind that it produces in most or in a majority of those who study it an assurance of conviction that rises by easy stages into one of certainty. But in detail, historical evidence for the most part here as everywhere else cannot transcend itself, cannot, that is to say, give us more than the result 'this or that is probable,' earnestly though we may desire to be able to say 'this is certain.' It follows that in many points of detail what may seem probable to us will appear to men of a different cast of mind to be quite the reverse, and so long as human nature remains what it is, this capacity for interpreting history in many ways will remain also. Of course I do not mean that students of history should indolently acquiesce in this diversity of judgment. The imperious desire to ascertain the truth at whatever cost to cherished presuppositions, the endeavour to understand and to sympathise with the condition of mind which forces other men to take a different view of any historical evidence to that which approves itself to us—these, if honestly followed in a wholehearted way, will ultimately tend towards a uniformity of result. There is, *e.g.*, very much greater agreement amongst Biblical Students as to the true nature of the first two chapters of Genesis than there was fifty years ago, though there may still be great difference of opinion as to their spiritual content. Again there is a similar greater uniformity of scholarly opinion as to the early date of the Four Gospels, compared with that which prevailed at the beginning of the last century, whilst estimation of the historical value of their contents still varies widely in different

quarters. In these respects progress has been made and we may hope that as time passes increasing agreement may be arrived at with respect to the external setting of all facts of history, for which there is any considerable evidence, even though much latitude of interpretation of the meaning and bearing of those facts still remains.

In this Paper I propose to re-examine the evidence of the New Testament for the supernatural birth of the Lord, and to endeavour to estimate its value. I shall assume that the first and third Gospels were written in the latter part of the first century, the former by an unknown writer, the latter probably by St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. But no inference will be based upon the author's personality.

I. THE FIRST GOSPEL.

In the first chapter a genealogy of Christ is immediately followed by the narrative of the supernatural birth. It seems to me quite clear that the genealogy as it now stands is due to the same editor who proposed to insert immediately after it vv. 18-25.¹ The mention of Tamar, Rahab, and Ruth can only be explained as due to a writer who saw in the life stories of these women a divine overruling of history from which a right understanding of the story of Mary's virginity might be drawn. Of course this writer may have himself compiled the genealogy, or he may have found an extant genealogy and modified it by the insertion of these names. I am inclined to suppose that the compiler of the genealogy in its present form is the last editor of the Gospel, because the artificial arrangement into three groups of fourteen names reminds us of the not infrequent predilection for numerical arrangement which runs through the whole work.² If this be the case, it seems clear that the editor, whether he himself composed vv. 18-25, or whether he borrowed

¹ *Expository Times*, xi. 136.

² *Expository Times*, xi. 284. Add to references there given, 'three incidents of childhood,' c. ii.; 'three events prior to Christ's ministry,' iii.-iv. 11; 'three complaints of His adversaries,' ix. 1-17; 'three sayings about little ones,' xviii.; three questions, xxii. 15-40. See also *Horæ Synopticae*, 131 ff.

them from an already existing source, saw no inconsistency in prefixing a genealogy to a story of birth from a virgin.

There is no reason for supposing that the genealogy *must* be ultimately due to a writer or writers who were unacquainted with the tradition that Christ was born of a virgin. If the editor of the Gospel could prefix it to the narrative of the supernatural birth, that is a clear proof that he believed Joseph to have been the father of Christ, but father in a sense which admitted of the birth from a virgin. So non-natural a sense of fatherhood seems strange to us, but it was the belief of the editor, and *may* therefore have been the belief of the first man to whom the idea occurred of constructing a genealogy of the Lord's ancestors.

What has just been stated has an important bearing upon the vexed question as to the original text of ch. i. 16. I do not propose to discuss this here, but need only refer to a paper by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, in the *Hibbert Journal*, for October, 1902. Since the publication of the Sinaitic Syriac version, in 1894, it has seemed to me not improbable that the original Greek text of St. Matthew i. 16, ran somewhat as follows: 'Joseph, to whom was espoused Mary (a virgin), begat Jesus who is called Christ.' This is intelligible as the work of the original editor who could compile a genealogy and add to it a story of supernatural birth. From the pen of such an one the sentence contains no taint or suspicion of 'Ebionite' belief, and it is very natural that it should have been modified until it assumed the form of our present Greek text. Such modification is quite natural in the hands of copyists who wished, not to change the doctrinal content of the passage, but to remove harshness and inconsistencies of expression. Since genealogy and supernatural birth stood in immediate connection, it was clear that the 'begetting' of v. 16, if used of Joseph did not convey the same meaning as it did in the fifteen preceding verses. This had not troubled the mind of the original editor. To him, as he wrote the words, it was clear that interpreted in the light of what followed, 'begat,' in v. 16, could mean nothing more than 'was socially

regarded as the father of.' But copyists are sometimes great sticklers for a superficial logic. If 'begat' could not be used of Joseph in its natural sense, then it would be better to transfer it to Mary, and so by a series of slight alterations this was done and we get our present Greek text. Exactly the same sort of thing occurs over and over again in the MSS. In St. Matthew i. 19, 'her husband' is omitted by the Curetonian Syriac. The same authority omits 'his wife' in v. 24, and substitutes 'thy betrothed one' for 'thy wife' in v. 20. In St. Luke ii. 33, the R.V. has 'his father and his mother,' but a large number of MSS. substitute 'Joseph' for 'his father.' In v. 41 for his 'parents' early Latin MSS. have 'Joseph and Mary,' or, 'and his mother.' In ii. 48 the Curetonian Syriac has 'we,' and the Latin MS. *e* has 'thy friends and I,' 'nam et propinqui tui et ego.'

On the other hand if in St. Matthew i. 16, our present Greek text were original and the rendering of the Sinaitic Syriac a modification of it, it remains quite unintelligible how or why any copyist of Ebionite propensities could suppose that he was doing any good to anyone by altering 'Mary begat' into 'Joseph begat' when he left the main point in the following narrative of the supernatural birth unaltered.

Turning now to the narrative in ch. i. 18-25, with which may be considered the traditions in ch. ii., we may notice at the outset that these stories as they stand in the Gospel come to us on the authority of the unknown editor of the Gospel, writing, it may be assumed, somewhere towards the end of the first century. No one who has studied this editor's methods as exemplified in his use of St. Mark's work will be likely to suppose that these narratives are his own invention. He may, of course, have recast them and reset them, but the kernel of each story must have existed before him. Is it possible to rediscover the ultimate provenance of these traditions?

There can, I think, be little doubt that Palestine was their original home. In the first place the quotations suggest this: i. 23 is given in the language of the LXX. with slight

modification; but ii. 6 seems to be an independent translation of the Hebrew. In ii. 15 we have apparently a translation of the Hebrew, with no trace of the LXX.; and in ii. 18 there is considerable divergence from the LXX. Lastly, ii. 23 is most easily explained as a play upon the Hebrew word *netzer*, 'a shoot,' Is. xi. 1, and perhaps on *nazir*, 'a nazirite,' Judg. xiii. 5, a word play which could hardly have suggested itself elsewhere than in Jewish circles. In i. 18, 19, the narrative presupposes acquaintance with the Jewish idea of relationship between a man and the woman who was betrothed to him.¹ In ii. 1 the coming of the Eastern Magi to do homage to the Messiah finds its most reasonable explanation as a tradition belonging to that Palestinian atmosphere of belief, in which Jerusalem and its Messianic kingdom were to be the centre of attraction for all nations of the world. It is well known that at this period the expectation of the birth of a king was widely spread.² Magi came to Rome to do homage to Tiberius.³ Others may well have travelled to Jerusalem, led there by curiosity fostered by their astrological calculations. For the tradition that Christ went into Egypt, we have parallel evidence in the persistent Jewish calumny that Christ was a magician who brought magical arts from that country.⁴

The only question, therefore, is at what period did this cycle of Palestinian traditions first become current? So far as the story of the supernatural birth is concerned, the fact that a parallel but independent tradition occurs in St. Luke is sufficient proof that if the first and third gospels date from the closing years of the first century this tradition must go back well into the middle of it. In other words, we have in St. Matthew i. 18-23 a Palestinian tradition which was probably already current in that country in the middle of the first century A.D. I have just said that the story of the first gospel finds support from the parallel tradition which occurs in the third. But that is the very point which many modern critics strenuously

¹ Cf. Merx. *Die vier Evangelien*, II. i. 9. ² See Schürer *Geschichte*, ed. 3, II. 505 ff.

³ Pliny. *Natural History*, 30, 16. ⁴ Krause *Das Leben Jesu nach Jüdischen Quellen*, 192.

deny. You will notice that if St. Luke i. 34-35 were excised the whole of his narrative might be read as the story of an announcement made to a betrothed maiden that the son of her approaching marriage would be the long-expected Messiah. And quite a formidable list of modern scholars, including Schmiedel,¹ Usener,² Harnack,³ Pfeiderer,⁴ and Dr. Cheyne,⁵ believe that these verses are an interpolation into the original narrative. The reasons given for this rest partly upon textual grounds, partly upon the alleged inconsistency of these verses with the rest of the narrative.

The textual evidence is as follows: the Old Latin MS. *b* for the words in 34, 'How shall this be, &c.,' substitutes the first part of v. 38, 'Behold the handmaid, &c.,' which are omitted from that verse. In ii. 5, the same MS. and also *a* and the Sinaitic Syriac have 'his wife' for the Greek 'his betrothed' or 'his betrothed wife.' Further, the Protevangelium Jacobi, a late (probably third century) apocryphal gospel of the infancy, paraphrases vv. 30-33 thus: 'And behold an angel of the Lord appeared before her and said, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all, and shalt conceive at His word.' For v. 34 is substituted the following: 'When she heard that, she was in doubt, and said, Shall I conceive of the living God and bring forth as all women bring forth?' Then follows a paraphrase of v. 35, ended by St. Matthew i. 21. Vv. 35 (end) to 37 are omitted, and the section closes with a paraphrase of v. 38, 'And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord is before Him, be it to me as thou hast said.'

The argument is that the original Greek text lacked v. 34; *b* certainly omits it, but the Protevangelium has been wrongly quoted as evidence for omission. As may be seen from the above quotations it substitutes for it a paraphrase. Further it is urged that the original Greek text as represented by *a*, *b*, and Sinaitic Syriac had 'wife' for 'betrothed' in ii. 5. Omit i. 34

¹ Encycl. Bib. iii. 2955-6. ² Encycl. Bib. iii. 3349. ³ Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 1901. 55. ⁴ Urchristentum i. 407. ⁵ Bible Problems 91.

and adopt 'wife' in ii. 5, and the idea of supernatural birth, it is said, will disappear from the narrative.

But this sort of drastic treatment of the text is thoroughly uncritical. So far as i. 34 is concerned the evidence for omission consists only of *b*, and it may safely be said that no modern editor would venture to omit the verse from his text on such slight authority. So far as that MS. is concerned, we are not dealing simply with a case of omission. It is true that Mary's words in v. 34 are dropped, but for them are substituted her saying in v. 38.

There are, therefore, three alternatives. (a) The translator of this codex is accurately rendering the Greek text before him. (b) He had before him our present Greek text, and his variation from it is due chiefly to inadvertence. (c) His variation is intentional.

Against (a) stands the fatal objection that this MS. is an isolated witness. If this be the original reading, then all our Greek MSS. and all versions have been emended so successfully that, with this one exception, the traces of the interpolators' handiwork have been completely covered.

In support of (b) it might be urged that when he came to v. 34 the copyist might quite easily write the saying of Mary which stands in v. 38 instead of the other saying which properly belongs to v. 34. When he came to v. 38 he might not unnaturally avoid repeating the same words by omission.

But a more plausible case can be made out for (c). The copyist might intentionally omit the words of our Greek text in v. 34, with a view to removing the supernatural element from the story. If this was his purpose, the means which he adopted to carry it out were very inadequate, because whilst v. 35 remained in the text the whole narrative would still most naturally suggest to a reader the idea that Mary's conception was due to supernatural causes. The substitution of 'wife' for 'betrothed' or for 'betrothed wife' in ii. 5 might, of course, be urged in favour of intentional alteration. But the same reading occurs in *a* and in the Sinaitic Syriac. In these versions

there is no change in v. 34, and it seems natural to suppose that 'wife' is a careless paraphrase due to translators who saw no more objection in calling Mary whilst still a virgin 'wife,' than did the writers of the first Gospel in calling Joseph 'the husband' of the 'betrothed' Mary (i. 19). The same explanation probably accounts for the reading of *b* in St. Luke ii. 5.

The omission in v. 34 may however be intentional for another cause. It is not impossible that the copyist took offence at the words, 'How shall this be, seeing that I know not a man?' He might argue that they attributed want of faith to the Virgin. The paraphrase of these words in the Protevangelium may be due to the same reason, and supports the reason for omission here suggested.

But in any case there is no sufficient reason on textual grounds for supposing that v. 34 did not form part of the original text.

The argument against these two verses on the ground that they contain an idea which is inconsistent with the rest of the narrative rests upon a number of details which are ably summarized by Schmiedel and by Pfeiderer. It may be well to consider some of them:—

(1.) It is urged that if the Virgin Birth were presupposed it would be strange that Christ's parents should marvel at Simeon's words (ii. 23), or at the words of the Shepherds (ii. 18) and should have been unable to understand His own words (ii. 50). A similar argument is used, as *e.g.* by Lobstein, with reference to Mark iii. 21. 'These fears,' he says, 'would be absolutely inconceivable were it true that Mary was piously treasuring as a family tradition the lively remembrance of the scenes of the Annunciation and of the Nativity.'¹

The presupposition underlying this argument is that if the tradition of Christ's supernatural birth be true His mother and her espoused husband must from that period have lived in the undimmed and unquestioning consciousness of the fact that Mary's Son was a supernatural being who had been

¹ *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, p. 51.

born into the world in a unique manner. But the text of the Gospels lends no support to such a reconstruction of history, nor, indeed, does it seem to be in any respect agreeable to human nature as it is known to us. 'It is,' says a writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*,¹ 'psychologically more probable as it is historically more certain, that the Virgin developed very gradually a right understanding of the character and nature of her divine Son.' If we suppose her at, or after, His birth to have spoken of its circumstances to any of her most intimate friends, we may be sure that the result would be to close her lips and hush her into silence. As the years passed by, doubt and questioning, wonder and surmise, must have mingled themselves in her mind. On the one hand there was her son, a being of flesh and blood, entering into all the concerns of their homely life. On the other, was her recollection of the wonder of His birth and the gracious divinity of His nature. That His parents often misunderstood is in every respect probable and the critics' 'absolutely inconceivable' is agreeable neither with human nature as we know it, nor with history which here as elsewhere shows more knowledge of life than do its critics. No vision of angel nor reminiscence of supernatural message would be sufficient to explain to the wondering Virgin the mystery of her Son. Of one thing every hour in her simple home life would convince her, that He was bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. His childish ways, His happy laughter would convince her of this, that He was no fairy changeling likely to vanish from her life suddenly, even though He had come amid circumstances of awe and wonder. And to her the life's mission towards which He seemed to be shaping His destiny must, if she understood it at all, have seemed one of perilous danger. There would be, moreover, the pressure of opinion from those of her acquaintance who had even less clue to the marvel of her Son's nature than she had herself. To such as these His methods and His conduct must have seemed to be leading Him towards a catastrophe which would plunge

¹ July, 1904, p. 391.

Him and His family alike into shame and sorrow. How natural it is that she and they should have misunderstood.

(2.) There is a series of passages in which Joseph is referred to as His father—So ii. 27, 33, 41, 43, 48.

The argument here rests on the implied axiom 'that one and the same writer could not, if he rightly understood it, believe in and record the tradition of the supernatural birth, and at the same time speak of Joseph as the 'father' of Christ. It is urged, therefore, that the original narrative was one which described the birth of the Lord along purely natural lines, and that the verses (i. 34-35), which introduce the idea of the supernatural, are an interpolation into the original account either by St. Luke or by a later redactor, who has also probably omitted after v. 38 a statement that Mary became the wife of Joseph and conceived by him. But there seems to be good cause for questioning the axiomatic basis of this argument, because, as we have seen in the case of the author of the first gospel, one and the same Christian writer can both speak of Joseph as Christ's father, and at the same time believe in the traditional account of Christ's supernatural birth. St. Luke, therefore, may have been similarly minded, and there is no good reason for dissecting into two inconsistent accounts his harmonious narrative. It is obvious that if the gospel traditions rest upon a basis of fact, the acquaintances and contemporaries of the Lord must have believed Him to be the actual Son of Joseph and Mary. This belief would probably be held by some, at least, of the members of the earliest Christian society, because they had no reason to believe otherwise. It would account for, and would be used as proof of, His Davidic descent. But at an early date (as is shown by the Palestinian atmosphere which surrounds the tradition as it occurs in the first and third gospels) the true facts as to His supernatural birth were allowed to become known in Christian circles. No difficulty seems to have been felt in reconciling these new facts with a belief in His descent from David. The evidence of the first gospel seems to suggest that the legal

parentage of Joseph—the simple fact that he had taken Mary to wife—was regarded in the Christian society as sufficient to guarantee the Davidic descent of Mary's son. Consequently, no difficulty was felt in still continuing to speak of Joseph as the father of Christ or as the husband of Mary, even at the time when still a Virgin she gave birth to her son. Whether this was a consistent and logical view to take is not in question, because it is difficult to say what other view the Christian Church could have adopted, and because the early Christians were not always rigidly logical. They were dealing with facts—the fact of Christ's supernatural birth, the fact that He was socially assumed to be the Son of Joseph, and the fact that the Old Testament had, as they interpreted it, foretold the Davidic origin of the Messiah, whom they believed Jesus to be. If they simply held firmly to facts, and did not attempt a logical synthesis of them, who can blame them?

(3.) In ii. 22, we read of 'the days of their purification.' 'Their,' it is said, is an archæological error for 'her' but an error which proves that in the mind of the writer Joseph was actual father of Jesus. We feel doubtful as to the archæological error. The writer of these chapters elsewhere shows a very considerable acquaintance with Jewish belief and custom. The 'their' seems to us more probably due to an identification of the interests of Mary in those of the whole family, or possibly to loose translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original. B. Weiss in the ninth edition of Meyer admits the error, but denies that it shows that the writer knew nothing of the supernatural birth.

(4.) It is urged that the question in i. 34 is quite inappropriate since Mary was espoused to Joseph and would, therefore, naturally look for the fulfilment of the promise made by the angel, in v. 31, from her approaching marriage. But too much stress is here laid upon a single phrase. If the question is really so inappropriate, a redactor would have taken the trouble to insert something more suitable. It is surely to be understood that there was in the nature of the Divine message something which conveyed to Mary's mind the consciousness that the birth

predicted in v. 31 was one of a unique character which would not be brought about by her marriage with Joseph but without his participation. Her question implies that she was conscious of this. Gunkel, who denies strongly the idea of interpolation, believes that the words are a translation of an Hebrew original in which the *σπλάγγη* would be represented by a participle. 'Behold, thou art conceiving now.' He argues that the 'with haste,' of i. 39, implies this immediate conception, and pertinently asks, as an argument for the genuineness of the verses why the conception of Mary is not recorded as is that of Elizabeth in i. 24.¹

On the whole, then, we cannot find any good ground for dissecting St. Luke's narrative into an original document which gave a purely natural account of Christ's birth, and an interpolation which superimposed upon it the idea that he was born from a Virgin.

The emphasis laid on Mary's Virginity, in i. 27, though not incompatible with this view, harmonises much more readily with the belief that in St. Luke i., we have a consistent tradition that Christ was born in a supernatural manner from a Virgin.

We do not propose to discuss here the question of the origin of St. Luke's narratives. Their Palestinian tone and character has often been emphasized, and by no one more strongly than by Gunkel.²

We conclude that this tradition originated on Palestinian soil at sufficiently early a date to account for its presence in two quite independent forms in the first and third Gospels. That being so, the view that they are based upon actual facts and came ultimately from the family of Christ Himself is infinitely probable. We cannot, in this paper, discuss rival explanations. The most popular is that these stories represent the adaptation of ancient legendary ideas to Christ's infancy.³ The place and probable period at which the traditions first

¹ Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments, 67-8.

² Op. Cit. 91, Cf. also Sanday in *Critical Questions*, 131 ff. Briggs's *New Light*, 162 ff.

³ Cf. recently Cheyne. *Bible Problems*.

took shape seem to us to exclude such a view, nor does their presence in the volumes of painstaking annalists, like our Evangelists, lend any support to it. It is frequently stated that apart from the first and third Gospels no traces of the tradition of the supernatural birth are to be found in the New Testament. Certainly no explicit reference to it can be found there. But it is questionable whether the search for implied allusions to it should not be renewed. In particular the question whether c. xii. of the Apocalypse does not suggest knowledge of the tradition on the part of the author of that book, is worth reconsidering. The belief is growing amongst scholars that that chapter embodies an earlier Jewish source which had already adapted an idea of Babylonian or Egyptian mythology to Jewish Messianic belief.¹ The present writer is not competent to deal with a problem so difficult as the nature of the source underlying the chapter. But it is worth while raising the question whether the author of the book did not incorporate this section with direct reference to the tradition of the supernatural birth of Christ, with which he must, therefore, have been acquainted. If that be the case, and since the reign of Domitian is the latest probable date for the Apocalypse, we have a third independent Jewish Christian reference from the closing years of the first century to the tradition of the supernatural birth.

Lastly, with regard to the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, it has aptly been pointed out that their conception of the pre-existence of Christ finds its natural root in the tradition of the Virgin Birth.² Neither writer explicitly alludes to this tradition in unmistakable words, but it must remain open to question whether consciousness of it did not guide St. Paul's pen when he wrote 'born of a woman' in Gal. v. 4, and whether there may not be an allusion to it in 1 Tim. ii. 15. The statement that woman, who was the cause of sin to the

¹ See Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 405 ff, with the literature there referred to, and Cheyne, *Bible Problems*.

² Ch. Quart. Rev., Oct., 1904, 212 ff.

human race, shall be brought safely through the process of child-birth with its pangs which were inflicted upon her as a punishment, seems too commonplace an argument for the great Apostle. Nor, indeed, does the qualification 'if she remain, &c.,' seem to have any necessary bearing upon it. Does Christian virtue always ease the pains of child-birth? How much more natural the sentence is if in the Apostle's mind was the deeper thought that the race of women (as of men) should receive salvation through the birth of a Saviour. If sin came through a woman, so also did salvation from sin. Women whose lives were transformed by this faith into lives of practical righteousness should indeed be saved.

W. ALLEN.

ASSYRIOLOGY AND INSPIRATION.

II.

We may regard the history of all religion, law and morals, as a story of progressive revelation. This is not a revelation of the things themselves, but of God. The progress lies in the fuller and fitter expression of the mind of God in these things. The things themselves are imperfect and subject to all the laws which condition human life here. Their progress may be fitly called an evolution. But only in the sense that it has analogies to the evolutionary process by which natural science has accounted for progress in nature. The evolution has a law, but not the same law. The laws of evolution in history must be deduced from history, not taken over from physics. There is analogy, but not condominium. Because a law rules in physics it does not follow that we can at once state the analogous law in history, morals or religion.

We may freely admit that there have been many religions in the world, all in some degree good for those in whose history they appeared. But there has been a progressive improvement in one sense. We should be as unscientific in denying the value of earlier religions for their time and race as in denying the right of the mammoth or other primeval monsters to be regarded as true works of God. For the value of religion is for man. The value of Christianity for us is only enhanced by this consideration. For it becomes as essential for us, as we are, as was the Israelite religion for the Hebrew, or Buddhism for its followers. We may say with full conviction that God has so made man that Christianity is the only religion fit for him. We need not insist that God so made man at the creation. The making of man is a process that has gone on ever since. To some extent it has, like all natural processes, been automatic. But no law is self-enforcing. It has no energy of its own. It

is merely the constraint which governs the path along which energy runs down. Subject to this law, which has governed the nature of man and been the norm of his actions, he has himself contributed freely to the result. Probably the morality of all action is measured by the motive of the actor's contribution. His contribution is not the sum total of the result. Part of that is due to the laws of the world in which he lives. How much he can freely contribute is a moot point and is the subject of the old controversy between determinism and free will.

A belief in revelation and inspiration is not only possible but a necessary postulate of a scientific theory of history. The laws of historic evolution impose constraint, human free will contributes a dynamic element. The result of these alone must be an inevitable degradation. Unless we are to admit that our religious history has been one unending course of degradation we cannot but postulate an external supply of moral energy. That being granted it is also admitted that the same process of constraint imposed on the human contribution must ultimately result in its being reduced to complete harmony with the externally imparted source, subject still to the law constraint. We may regard this as the evolution of a new religion out of Christianity. It would be truer to say that it consists in a fuller realisation of it. For Christianity bears that relation as a religion to what preceded it. As its eternal Founder said, 'I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil.' Whether consistent entirely with their doctrine concerning the Scripture or only an unconscious mental subterfuge, it is certain that the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy towards the new discoveries shows far less alarm than that of the Protestant ministers of Germany. They adopt the idea of progressive revelation. They state that it has always been the Church's view that God has revealed His will to men as they were able to receive it.

Religious development is a feature to be discerned even in the Gospel revelation. Christianity with its dogmas of

Incarnation, Eucharist, grace and glory, is a definite religion, which does bring the creature into the closest possible union with the Creator. But even in the history of that religion we can discern growth. In the primitive form in which it was known to the Apostles each dogma possessed indeed its religious value, but it was less definitely and exactly apprehended. St. Peter, indeed, may be said to have believed in the Holy Trinity, but we should scruple to say that he could have defined it, with due regard to the distinctions of personality united by essential unity of Godhead, as it was defined by the Council of Nicæa. Even the Fathers there did not come so close to the apprehension of its meaning as we do, now that we have more exact ideas on the subject of personality. We may not allege that if we could have set before St. Peter or the Fathers at Nicæa the questions, which since their time have pressed for solution, their answer would have been lacking in clearness. We only know that they did not so enunciate things as to forecast all our difficulties. We may object that the inspired words of an Apostle ought to have been such that they would have stated the truth, in such a way that no subsequent knowledge or speculation could demand any re-statement. But where can any justification be found for such an expectation? Could human language have then been found to put it in? If it was the duty of the Apostle to invent language, to coin words, for the purpose of such a statement as should be true for all time, could such a statement be intelligible to the hearers, could such language escape the tendency of copyists and commentators to modify, explain and simplify what they had before them?

But we need not enquire what was the duty of an inspired writer to do, we can only say what he did, and we can only lay down this subject to the fact that we have a record which we can neither improve, nor replace, of what he said. If it be not such as we demand, we may be sure that our demand is impertinent. If we suspect that we have not his very words, we have no means of discovering what they were. And the

records are what they are. In Greek or Hebrew our Scriptures have to be read by us with all the care and knowledge which the utmost human learning can bring to bear on them. When we raise questions which they do not answer we have no answer that is of faith for Christians. That is surely the true doctrine of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture. It does not rule that we have no right to ask further questions nor to seek their answers from other sources. There are innumerable scientific questions for which it deeply concerns men to find answers. It is the duty of every Christian man, as far as in him lies, to help towards the answering of such questions. What is the true nature, cause and cure of consumption? The Bible apparently does not reply. It is the duty of every Christian man to help to answer that question. If he cannot conduct scientific research, he must support, or at least encourage, those who can. He has no right to say, 'The Bible has no answer, therefore it does not concern me.' What is so obvious in a case of mechanics, medicine, or other science, must not be ignored in cases where other knowledge bears on what the Bible does say. It is not 'of faith' to believe the results of such science. Vaccination may be a preventive of smallpox, but a belief in its efficacy is not 'of faith' for a Christian.

So if there be scientific proof of something which seems to clash with Bible teaching, we can neither demand that a Christian should accept the scientific proof nor that he should continue to believe that the Bible teaches what contradicts it. We do well to remind ourselves here that many things said to be scientific truths are, for all of us, except a very select few, matters of blind faith, for we cannot test them. Let me instance the theory of luminiferous ether. No miracle recorded in the Bible makes such appalling demands on my faith as that, and I have read most mathematical treatises upon it, and performed many of the experiments on which it is based. And with respect to most scientific theories we know by experience that they are short-lived. I purposely refer to things which do not clash with accepted Bible teaching.

If geology, or the nebular hypothesis, contradicts the first chapters of Genesis, we must admit that their teachings are not absolutely proved. No man can be charged with folly if he does not believe them. At the same time any man may be so convinced of them that he cannot believe that the first chapter of Genesis states the truth. He may then believe as I do, that it states no facts at all, but only a primitive cosmology, and that any attempt to confront its statements with science is ridiculous waste of time. The writer of Genesis could not and did not know anything about the order of creation. He believed in creation, as I do, and that there was a certain order, which he gives, and probably that it exemplified the workings of a moral governor of the universe. That he was competent to lay down such a statement of his belief as should anticipate the researches and still more the theories of modern science seems to me to be unthinkable. We have no right then to make his account of creation 'of faith,' in such a sense as to demand disbelief in modern science. Yet neither I nor those who think with me have any right to demand that any Christian man should cease to believe in the teaching of the First Chapter of Genesis, because scientists teach what he cannot reconcile with it.

These things I say, because they lie in a province which has already been so worked over that I may hope for a general agreement with them. It is not to the point at all whether a given man can find a satisfactory reconciliation of the account of the creation and science. The principle is what I need you to admit. We now know that the cosmogony of Genesis is very closely related to the Babylonian Creation myth. How closely does not matter at all. If it had been an exact reproduction we could much more easily reconcile it with the claims of Science. The Babylonians counted 168 myriads of years before the flood. I think that would satisfy even geologists. Lord Kelvin, as a physicist, would not admit such an age possible for a habitable earth. We may be tempted to say, 'Is the Bible account a true one? That is all we care about.' But we must first decide what it does state. We can easily mislead

ourselves into making it state something it never meant. Perhaps we do not now know what it does mean, at any rate in the details which seem to us most incredible. The differences of opinion as to its meaning are enough to make us beware of making any one interpretation compulsory on a Christian man.

Now, in matters which are daily becoming more engrossing the same principle holds. Knowledge has grown with the course of time. In the methods of logic, history, science, we know more than did our forefathers. It would be a disgrace to their memory if we did not. They could only have secured that by a method of strangling progress with which we could only compare our idea of Chinese obscurantism. Rather let us give them credit that they welcomed all truth, as far as they could know it. Let us do the same. Rather than show a peevish resentment with them for not knowing more, let us glory in their faithful submission to what they knew. What was theirs in germ, we possess in growth, but as still a germ of what is to be.

Jewish dogma is such a germ, not our limit. It points the way, not bounds the view. Our Lord came in vain if the Judaic Revelation was complete. There was growth in religion even before that. The conception even of God varied; not that the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and the prophets, was a variable God, but there is growth in the attributes ascribed to Him. The attributes were always there really, but men's knowledge of them grew. God changed not, but man's knowledge of Him did. We may say then, 'Let us only teach the full knowledge, let us expunge from our lectionary all the early incomplete views.' Not so. They are not only of interest as a record of dead faiths, but there are vast numbers of our fellow-countrymen still at the same point of view as that at which they were appropriate. To them the fuller knowledge is as inexplicable as it would have been to the patriarchs. We must despair of them altogether if we did not see that their elementary view, being such as was held in primitive times, should grow to the fuller faith. There is

scarcely a primitive religion that has ever been believed, but, if preached with conviction, would be welcomed by numerous adherents now. Modern teachers probably often fail to be effective because their teaching is too advanced to take hold on their hearers. The appeals of the mediæval friars would probably refill our churches. The teaching of the Old Testament, defective as it is, usually appeals more strongly than that of the New. We may still bring out of our treasure the things that are old, provided we use them to lead on to the new and the better. No more seductive method of at once showing the incompleteness of the old and the natural outcome of the new can be found than the historical method.

And what is of great value to us, that method does show the essential truth of the old, because it shows that it was the good seed from which alone the good tree grows. Men do not gather figs of thistles nor grapes of thorns. It is natural to compare other native religions, especially the Semitic cults, with that of Israel. I say it is natural: you cannot keep people from doing so, not even in the Roman Catholic Church; and the results are so interesting that you cannot keep people from publishing them. If you persist in ignoring them you give up a whole province of delightful study which will furnish endless arguments for Christianity to an enemy who will with his natural perversity turn the likeness into arguments against. It is necessary to prefer, but it is only just to make the comparison, and justice has its profits. We shall obtain the best results and make our people impervious to the assaults of the adversary if we take the historic method. It is easy for a smart man to single out some marked features of the earlier defective views of God or morality, like the extirpation of the Canaanites, and say 'Your God is a ruthless monster of cruelty.' The ordinary uninstructed man has no answer ready. What so powerful as the historic view of growth of revelation? Whose fault is it that he has no idea of that answer? Is it really making for the interest or security of religion that he is kept in ignorance of these things?

The monotheism of Israel is a matter much raked up and down in the Babel-Bibel controversy. The misconceptions on both sides are prodigious. The early Israelites were not monotheists at all. They never denied, any more than did the author of the Ten Commandments, that there were *other* Gods. Only they did hold it wrong to worship them, for good and sufficient reasons, out of which ever grew more light, as always does if a man, and still more a people, shape their course by good and sufficient reasons. Could men have deliberately adopted, as did some in the history of Christian nations, the doctrine of extermination of their enemies as God's enemies, if it had not been deliberately withheld from them by their teachers that this was the view of a savage race? It was congenial to savage minds. But did not the blame lie with those who; instead of condemning such imperfect views as rudiments and pointing the way to finer truer views, confused all in one chaos as God's command, on the authority of God's word? Better far was the policy of Rome which forbade the Scriptures to the unlearned, or of Ulphilas, the Gothic bishop, who would not translate the entire Old Testament lest his semi-savage countrymen should be stirred to war by its fierce and bloody tales.

But as the Gospels, the Apostles and the Fathers have taught us to think, the Jews had prophets, prophetic types and shadows fulfilled in Christ, so we must think that other nations also, even those they called heathen, had their prophets and their types. All did not survive. But indeed we may come to see that these ancient thinkers in some respects more closely foreshadowed Him than did even the Jewish Scriptures. They even were privileged to prepare the phrases to be used of Him. This was a preparation for Him who was to come which is even more clear and convincing than the Old Testament prophecies, for it lies outside the professed purpose of its authors.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI AND THE LAWS OF ISRAEL.

There is wide diversity of opinion as to the exact relation which the Code of Hammurabi bears to the laws of Israel. While some can trace no influence of the one upon the other, or reduce that influence to a minimum, others urge that the older Code has affected the younger to so remarkable and so obvious an extent, that we are forced to conclude that the later legislator had in his possession, or was intimately acquainted with, the legal enactments of the earlier monarch. Between these extreme and divergent views are many shades of opinion, each acknowledging to a greater or a less degree, that in some sense the laws of Israel owed a debt to the Code of Hammurabi.

THE NEGATIVE VIEW.

Mr. S. A. Cook, one of the editors of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, in his able and instructive book on *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, minimizes the power which the Babylonian Laws have exerted in bringing to its present form the legislation of Israel. Dividing this legislation as he does into four periods, he seeks to discover where the enactments of each run parallel to the Code of Hammurabi, and if the parallel is a striking one, to show how it might be accounted for as the natural and inevitable result of the development of civilization operating independently, now through the Babylonians, and now through the Israelites. Of his four divisions it will suffice our purpose to notice his conclusions with regard to the first two.

The Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi.-xxiii.) is a purely civil code relating to an agricultural people whose wealth consists of cattle and produce, and who possess no central court of justice,

but await the divine decision at a local shrine or sanctuary. When he has compared this Book of the Covenant with the Code of Hammurabi Mr. Cook says, 'The parallels which have been noticed comprise the treatment of the same topic and an agreement in the employment of the same principle. But the topics are treated upon different lines, and the principles, *e.g.*, *talis* and the ordeal, are of too general a nature to admit of the supposition that they took their rise in Babylon.'

He proceeds to consider the Deuteronomic Laws (Deut. v.-xxvi., xxviii.)—laws which enforce the necessity of a single sanctuary at Jerusalem and the consequent centralisation of justice. Here also he maintains the opinion that it is impossible to discover unambiguous examples of borrowing. And when he has reviewed the whole subject he concludes 'that the evidence, . . . does not suggest that Israelitish legislature was to any considerable extent indebted to Babylon, and the parallels and analogies which have been observed are to be ascribed most naturally to the common Semitic origin of the two systems.'

THE POSITIVE VIEW.

Mr. Cook takes the extreme negative view, and diametrically opposed to him is the body of scholars whose views are well expressed by Prof. C. Johnston in words quoted by Mr. Johns in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*. 'The Babylonian and Mosaic Codes are conceived in the same literary form; they contain a considerable number of practically identical laws; they contain not a few cases of actual verbal agreement, and both are designed for a civilized community. The parallels are too close to be explained upon a somewhat vague theory of common tradition. . . . It has been shown that, in Palestine, Israel learned and appropriated the ancient Babylonian myths. Why should they not learn Babylonian Laws as well? . . . The foundation of the Babylonian Laws was the Code of Hammurabi, and thus the enactments of the old Babylonian king, formulated about B.C. 2250 passed more than a thousand years later into the Book of the Covenant, and so became the heritage of Israel

and the world' (Prof. C. Johnston, *John Hopkins University Circular*, June, 1903).

Neither the position stated so ably, and supported so elaborately, by Mr. Cook, nor that expressed with equal lucidity by Prof. Johnston, appear wholly satisfactory. Mr. Cook's efforts to prove almost complete independence have not the virtue of simplicity, and the explanation whereby he would account for the similarities is hardly convincing. On the other hand, Prof. Johnston's somewhat sweeping statements would require for their proof more positive evidence than we at present possess.

THE MIDDLE VIEW.

Midway between these two, and taking greater account of facts which each ignore or minimize, is the conclusion reached by Mr. Johns after a discussion which is marked by his usual fairness and caution. He regards the Hebrew laws as 'an independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law. The actual Code of Hammurabi is a witness to what that influence might accomplish. It cannot be held to be a creative source. . . . The presumption that Babylonia had a prominent influence on Palestine long before Israelite codes were drawn up is one which grows stronger as time goes on.'

HAMMURABI'S CONNECTION WITH THE LAND OF CANAAN.

The discussion of the actual relation of the codes may with advantage be postponed until we have examined what connection, if any, Hammurabi may have had with the land of Canaan. He is described as King of Martu upon an inscription erected in his honour, and if the majority of scholars are right in translating 'Martu' by 'Westland' we have considerable evidence for the belief that his rule extended until it reached or actually embraced the land of Canaan.

Many would identify him with Amraphel, the king of Shinar (Gen. xiv.), and if the grounds of their argument are sound, we have additional evidence for believing that the

¹ Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, p. 612.

conquest of Palestine was at least an object of his ambition, and that the Canaanites would be familiar with his military operations, even if they did not share the benefits of his rule. The identification is somewhat precarious, although by no means impossible.

We are, however, on much safer ground when we assert that Hammurabi was a foreign conqueror in the land of Babylon. It was not the home of his birth, but the home of his adoption. In this at all events most are agreed—Sayce, Delitzsch, and Hommel with many others express themselves strongly in favour of such a view. Linguistic and other considerations enforce it. But as to the exact locality whence he sprang, there is not the same unanimity of opinion. Some think he was from North Semitic lands, where the Moabite, the Israelite and the Phœnician dwelt. Others would assign to him an Arabian lineage, and the suggestion at once carries our minds to the interviews which Moses held with Jethro in the Arabian Peninsula. But against the Arabian theory we must urge that no conclusive proof of a state of civilization capable, at that early date, of producing a wise and enlightened ruler like Hammurabi is at hand to confirm the speculation.

In the limited state of our knowledge the confident assertion of either view is rash, but the balance of probability, and it is a probability which grows stronger as the codes are more closely compared, assigns to Hammurabi a Semitic origin more or less closely allied to that of the conquerors of Canaan.

PROBABILITY OF BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE IN THE LAND OF CANAAN.

As fresh facts accumulate, and fresh discoveries are made, the foundations for the belief in an extended Babylonian influence in Canaan grow more sure. Even if Babylonian language and the cuneiform characters were not familiar to the Canaanites as a whole, we have at least definite evidence to show that they were the medium of official communications. The assertion is

proved up to the hilt by the Tel el-Armarna tablets, which contain in Babylonian characters a letter from a Syrian governor to the King of Egypt: the contention is made doubly sure by the cuneiform tablets recently discovered at Taanach by Professor Sellin.

If we consider, in addition to this positive evidence, the fact that Canaan lay across the path of one of the great highways of the ancient world, we are almost compelled to the belief that its inhabitants would not be ignorant of, but would rather be deeply influenced by, Babylonian customs and Babylonian ideas.

Into such a land the Hebrew conqueror forced his way and with such a people the Hebrew settlers were in constant touch. It is small wonder if we find trace of Babylonian ideas in their narratives of creation and the flood: it is small wonder if we find parallels between the Laws of Israel and the Codes of Babylon. As Mr. Johns wisely points out, borrowing is not asserted; Babylonian and Israelitish Law grew independently; but the influence of the earlier law which had spread through the land of Canaan had left its mark upon the legislation of the Hebrew race, who after the lapse of centuries attacked its borders and settled in its coasts.

THE CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF HAMMURABI'S CODE.

It is important to note that the Laws of Hammurabi were no brand new code, invented by the famous king and by him presented to a grateful people. Ancient and even modern laws may be briefly described as codified custom, and a long period of time stretching far behind Hammurabi was necessary for developing the custom which he laboured to fix, and to which he strove to give the sanction of law. Indeed it was often the case that a law was unnecessary when a custom of long established use was recognised by all. No provision in Hammurabi's Code is made for murder. It is unthinkable that murder was unknown, and it is equally incredible that the murderer was unpunished for his crime. We shall more

reasonably think that the customary treatment was invariable and had no need of law for its enforcement. It was only where custom was partially observed that definite enactment must add the sanction of a law, and harmony must be maintained by uniform observance.

Some laws of Hammurabi have a primitive colouring out of all harmony with the enlightened legislation of other parts, and these primitive elements present some marked affinities to Israelitish Law. Such similarities lend great probability to the view expressed by Mr. Johns, and which we will briefly summarize. Babylon before the invasion of the people whom Hammurabi represents, enjoyed an advanced state of civilization, and its influence, whether through commerce or through war, spread to the surrounding lands. It reached to the country of the Canaanites, and left its mark upon the people who dwelt therein. But at a later date there came against Babylon a conquering race, a race of ruder manners and Semitic blood. They settled in the land which their armies had overrun, and mingled with the men whom now they ruled, and whose language, customs, and ideas they soon absorbed. Among the conquerors, whether on their first entrance into the land or subsequently it would be hard to say, Hammurabi ruled as a strong and able king. He doubtless wished to weld into a mighty whole the scattered elements of the land he now possessed. By the promulgation of his Code he sought to seize and fix all that was best in the floating ideas and uncertain customs of the people whose welfare he had at heart. But in reducing to a code the customs of Babylon, it is little wonder that many of the ruder ideas which he and his people possessed before their conquest of the land, should colour the newly formulated laws with their own peculiar character.

If this supposition is correct, and its claim to be acknowledged is based upon the admirable explanation which it gives of the facts as they lie before us in the laws, then the Code of Hammurabi is made up of an enlightened Babylonian element coloured in part by ruder Semitic ideas. Hundreds of

years rolled by, and again a Semitic people, with probable affinities to the race from which Hammurabi had sprung, entered and occupied in their victorious march not Babylonia but Palestine. As Hammurabi had done in Babylon, these later conquerors also mingled with the subject race in Canaan, but to a less degree. Their work of destruction was more complete, and their laws exhibit a stronger trace of their own peculiarities. This supposition gives a fitting explanation of the more primitive character of early Israelite legislation as compared with that of Babylon: a primitive character which may be observed in the greater prominence of blood revenge and in the absence of special courts of law; in the harsher punishments for certain crimes and the mildness which was less severe with other guilt; in the greater privilege of the first born son and in the absence of a daughter's rights to an inheritance.

WHERE THE CODES DIFFER.

Important though a consideration of the possibility of Babylonian influence making itself felt in Israel at the time when her laws were in process of formation undoubtedly is, it is secondary to a careful examination of the internal evidence which lies hidden in the codes themselves. To call attention to some of the differences which these codes present, no less than to collect the traces of similarity in the ideas which they embody, and uniformity in the treatment they enjoin, will be the object of the remaining pages of this article.

The most outstanding and fundamental difference, then, which strikes us as we begin to reflect upon the mutual bearing of the respective codes, is the almost complete absence from the one of that religious motive which lies at the very root of the other. It has been well observed that in Israel the religious idea reached its highest development, and dominated law, morals, and history, whilst in Babylonia it was law which attained to its fullest perfection, and was largely independent of the religious incentive to its observance. The religious motive and the growth of the religious idea, although not

wholly wanting in the other nations of the ancient world, are the peculiar glory of the Hebrew race, and mark them off for ever as the channel for those special spiritual gifts with which God has been pleased to enrich, and make complete, the lives of the men whom He has taught to reverence His name.

There is a large body of material in either code which, from the very nature of the case, can have no counterpart within the limits of the other legislation. The complexity of the conditions of community life among the Babylonians, and the very nature of the industries by which they gained their livelihood gave rise to laws which would be purposeless in Palestine. Commerce and trade, which bulked so largely in the busy life on the Euphrates, were despised in the early days of Israel's national existence. The concern of Palestine lay rather in flocks and herds, in vineyards and olive groves. It is well to remember, in estimating the importance of divergences which owe their existence to a difference of industry and occupation, that most ancient law dealt rather with particular applications than with the principles which formed the motive for the special law.

But it is not alone the broad features of dissimilarity which we would observe, for specific cases, where both laws deal with the same subject, present a radical contrast in the method of treatment which cannot escape our notice. Take for instance the case of the fugitive slave. In Hammurabi we read, 'If a man has captured either a manservant, or a maidservant, a fugitive, in the open country, and has driven him back to his master, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels of silver,' but 'if he confine that slave in his house, and afterwards the slave has been seized in his hand, that man shall be put to death,' What a contrast this presents to the humane treatment enjoined in Deuteronomy (xxiii. 15): 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee.' And yet we must not hastily draw conclusions even from so striking an instance of contradictory treatment as that which lies before us here, for there are not wanting traces

that a custom nearer akin to that observed in Babylonia was at an earlier age equally dominant in Palestine. To such a custom I. Sam. xxx. 15 probably refers. 'And David said 'to him, Canst thou bring me down to this company? And 'he said, Sware unto me by God, that thou wilt neither kill me, 'nor deliver me into the hands of my master, and I will bring 'thee down to this company.'

It has been remarked that, although the names of articles in common use in Israel have in many cases marked affinities to the word for the corresponding article in Babylonia, yet when we examine the legal terms this similarity disappears. Such divergence is a matter of no slight importance, and would be even more significant if we could show that in either country the particular terms employed were the only ones in regular use. But this lies beyond our power to demonstrate, for each country apparently had alternative terms. But important the dissimilarity undoubtedly is, for by showing us that the particular expressions which were used and which were evidently the most natural and the most familiar to the writer, were quite different in Israel and in Babylonia, it goes a long way to disprove the conclusion of any who would wish to assert that the Hebrew legislator had borrowed, in any ordinary sense of the word, from the Laws of Babylon.

We may sum up the lessons we learn from the differences presented by these codes by stating that, while they leave us unconvinced that Babylonian influence was wholly wanting in the formation of Israel's laws, they none the less save us from the conclusion that direct or conscious borrowing can be laid to the charge of the later legislator.

POSSIBLE SOURCES OF SIMILAR FEATURES.

Before we conclude by gathering together some of the strikingly similar passages and ideas which occur in the codes under consideration, it will conduce to clearness to mention three possible sources from which such similarity may have been derived. Some contend that Babylonian influence could

hardly have been exerted until exilic and post exilic times. Others maintain that in the earliest days it came with Abraham as he journeyed to Palestine from Ur of the Chaldees, from a land which must have been saturated with Babylonian ways and Babylonian ideas. But a third, and a not inconsiderable body of scholars, are firm in their opinion that any agreement which may exist, or is fancied to exist between the respective codes is only due to the independent expression by each legislator of common Semitic ideas.

In certain cases this may be so, and Babylonian influence cannot be definitely argued, as some would have us suppose, either from similar methods in the administration of justice or from the customs, mentioned in both legislations, of an appeal to God's decision, and of a solemn oath which was made before God by the man who would declare his innocence. Still less can it be deduced from the similar warnings against perjury and injustice or the common custom which made man the Baal or lord of the woman, and deprived a girl of any voice in the choice of her own husband.

But there still remain resemblances in broad features and in points of detail, which may not be swept lightly aside in any discussion on this subject, but must be allowed the weight which is their due.

SIMILAR FEATURES.

Behind each code looms a great personality to whom the laws are ascribed—Moses in Israel and Hammurabi in Babylon. But in neither case is the law said to originate in the lawgiver, both ascribe its origin to the Deity from whose lips it issued forth. Hammurabi, we read, received his laws from the sun-god Shamash, while Moses learnt his from Jehovah, amid the thunders of Sinai.

The sections in the Code of Hammurabi, which deal with the laws of deposit, should be closely compared with the corresponding legislation in Exodus. There are differences, it is true, but there is a notable parallelism in the treatment which each enjoins. To appreciate it, one must read side by side with

Exodus xxii. 6-11, the following passage from the Code of Hammurabi :—‘ If a man has given silver or gold or anything whatever on deposit before witnesses, and he has disputed with him, one shall call that man to account, and whatever he has disputed he shall make up and shall give double. If a man has given anything of his on deposit, and where he gave it, either by housebreaking or by rebellion, something of his has been lost, along with something of the owner of the house who has defaulted, all that was given him on deposit and he has lost he shall make good and render to the owner of the goods. The owner of the house shall seek out whatever of his is lost, and take it from the thief. If a man has lost nothing of his, but has said that something of his is lost, has estimated his loss; since nothing of his is lost, his loss he shall estimate before God, and whatever he has claimed he shall double and shall give as his loss.’¹

Two small points which require notice are those of the votary and the hostage for debt, a careful examination of which tends to show how a closer investigation may reveal traces of similarity where now they are obscured or unsuspected. In § 110 we read, ‘ If a votary, a lady, who is not living in the convent, has opened a wine shop or has entered a wine shop for drink, one shall burn that woman.’ As Mr. Johns points out, there is, at first sight, nothing at all like this in the Hebrew legislation. ‘ But Leviticus xxi. 9 forbids the daughter of a priest to commit folly in Israel on pain of being burnt.’ Josephus understands that to mean ‘ to open a wine shop.’ The penalty is the same in both codes. It may well have been ‘ that one law was adapted from the other.’ The other point, and it is one of greater interest, relates to the custom which permitted a creditor to seize and retain as hostage a relative of his debtor. This hostage he kept until payment was made, or until three years had elapsed, at the expiration of which term he was granted his release. In Israel a similar custom was general, but in this case the term of imprisonment was *six* years instead

¹ Article Hammurabi in *Hastings' Dictionary*, p. 603, §§ 124-126.

of three. There would be nothing particularly remarkable in this were it not for the hint, and surely it is more than a hint, that we get in Deuteronomy xv. 18, that, as in Babylonia so in Palestine, *three* years and not six may have been observed in the original custom. The hostage is described as having served a *double* term. 'The custom was' clearly to release at 'the end of three years—a custom which seemed hard to the recently settled Israelite; and so concession was made to his prejudices, fixing it at six years instead. Thus we may account for the absence of other humane laws in Hebrew codes. They were too advanced to adopt unmodified.'

There are other parallel passages in Israel's laws, which by the very points of difference they present, create a presumption that, even if the Babylonian code was not known to the framer of the Israelitish law, at least the custom upon which that law was based would not be unfamiliar.

In the parallels which we venture to repeat from our last paper, the Hebrew law-giver seems to have in view the practice of Babylon, and appears to make it his special business to counteract the teaching which in Israel's case is inexpedient.

HAMMURABI §§ 196-201.

196. If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost.

197. If he has shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb.

198. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye or shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver.

199. If he has caused the loss of the eye of a gentleman's servant, or has shattered the limb of a gentleman's servant, he shall pay half his price.

200. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth fall out.

201. If he has made the tooth of a poor man to fall out, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

LEVITICUS xxiv. 17-21.

And he that smiteth any man mortally shall surely be put to death; and he that smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: life for life.

If a man cause a blemish in his neighbour, as he had done so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him.

And he that killeth a beast shall make it good: and he that killeth a man shall be put to death. *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for the homeborn.*

Again Leviticus xx. 14, and Hammurabi § 157, both condemn, and prescribe the penalty for an unnatural crime. The principle involved in each is similar and would admit of but two applications. Babylon defines the application to the most natural case, and Israel, as if for the purpose of extending its scope, applies it to the remaining possible instance. It is, of course, permissible to say that both were primitive Semitic customs, but it would be quite as natural to suppose that the principle applied in Babylon had met with so universal recognition that it stood in no need of fresh enforcement, and the Hebrew law-giver contents himself with extending its application to meet all contingencies.

The scope of this article was limited to a brief examination of some of the lines along which a solution of the problem, presented by the similar and divergent features of the ancient codes, has been sought. It is not for us to assert with any confident assurance that one line is right and another wrong; in so new a subject, in so unexplored a field, it is rash to dogmatise. But when we have paved the way with this word of warning, and this plea for caution, we are free to say that the conclusion which appears at present to afford the greatest prospect of success, is that which we owe to the industry and skill of Mr. Johns.

Whether a wholly satisfactory solution will ever be found, or whether the connection will always be shrouded in mystery, the wonder of the code will never die. It had brought order and safety and the benefits of mutual regard to a race of remote antiquity. It can only have derived what is pure and true, what is helpful and makes for happiness, ultimately from Him who is the source of every good and perfect gift, whom later generations more clearly saw as the God of Righteousness, and who has revealed Himself to the Christian as, in a supreme sense, the God of Love.

H. J.

THE GOSPEL MIRACLES.

II. THEIR CREDIBILITY.

In a previous paper miracles were defined as physical results which cannot be accounted for either by physical causes or by the exertion of any known powers of the human will, which, therefore, if they took place at all, must be ascribed to some special and direct action of the Divine Will; and an attempt was made to show that such phenomena—considered in the abstract—are not impossible, and that if, by a perfectly logical process, we form a conception of the relation of God to the material universe in accordance with an analogy drawn from the relation of spirit to matter in the human personality, we shall have no difficulty in believing that the God who created the Universe is still capable of influencing physical phenomena, and of producing results which purely physical causes could never have produced,—in a word, that miracles are possible.

In this paper, however, we have to deal with a much more difficult question. Granted that miracles are possible, are they credible? Granted that God is able to produce these extraordinary results, to make these special manifestations of His power, can we believe that He ever has done so? Can we believe that a miracle, in the strict sense of the word, has ever taken place? We have, in short, to meet not the argument that miracles are impossible, but the statement that ‘miracles do not happen.’

Here again the subject is one of primary importance. Just as the possibility of prayer is intimately connected with the possibility of miracles, so the credibility of the Gospels is intimately connected with the credibility of miracles. If ‘miracles do not happen,’ and if, consequently, the Gospel miracles did not happen, then the Gospels themselves are

entirely valueless as historical documents, and this, of course, ultimately means that we can have no real or certain knowledge of the facts of Christ's life, or of the substance of His teaching.

It is useless to try to eliminate the miraculous element from the Gospels, and it is absurd to think that, if this were done, anything worth having would be left. Miracles form an essential part of Christ's life as it is narrated to us in every account of it which we possess. The manner of His entry into the world, the manner of His departure from it, are both miraculous: many of the most important events of His life are closely connected with the working of miracles, and time after time the miracles are essential and necessary links in the chain of events.

Take, for example, the account of the raising of Lazarus (John xi.). This miracle was immediately followed by a meeting of the Sanhedrin; its possible results formed the subject of the speech of Caiaphas, and inspired the fatal suggestion—which is obviously genuine—that 'it is expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not' (xi. 50); and it was as a direct result of the miracle that the chief priests 'took counsel that they might put Him to death.' The miracle is, in fact, the point upon which the subsequent events turn, and unless a miracle, or at least an *apparent* miracle, took place, what followed cannot be accounted for, and will have to be regarded not as fact but as fiction. This is not an isolated instance. Exactly the same thing occurs over and over again, as, for example, in Mark vi. 45-50, where an account is given of a series of events which were the direct outcome of the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand.

Miracles, then, form an integral, an inseparable part of the Gospel history. But this is not all, for they are also very closely bound up with much that is fundamental in our Lord's teaching—His teaching, for example, as to the necessity and value of faith, which is reflected in all the writings of the Apostolic age and of the early Church, is scarcely to be found

in the Gospels except in connection with the miracle narratives. So, also, many of our Lord's most characteristic sayings, which are obviously genuine and of the greatest doctrinal importance, are recorded as spoken in connection with the working of miracles: thus, for example, the very striking words about blasphemy against the Son of Man and against the Holy Spirit occur in a narrative which deals with our Lord's alleged power of casting out devils (Mark iii. 22-29).

What then follows from this? Only one conclusion is possible and to those who disbelieve in miracles it is an unfortunate conclusion. It is just this: if we cannot trust the Gospels with regard to the miracles they record we cannot trust them either with regard to Christ's teaching or with regard to the non-miraculous facts of His life. If this is the case, if the Gospels are thus entirely untrustworthy as historical documents, we are left without any certainty as to what Christ did and said during His earthly life, and without any *historical* basis upon which to ground our belief in the purpose and method of the Incarnation. Any theory, as the writer of *Ecce Homo* said, which represents the Gospel miracles as due entirely to the imagination of Christ's followers, or of a later age, destroys the credibility of the Gospels not partially but wholly and leaves Christ a personage as mythical as Hercules.¹

Thus, upon our attitude towards this question of the credibility of miracles will depend our whole conception of historical Christianity—not in the sense that miracles are evidence for or proofs of the claims made by Jesus, but in the sense that if the miracles did not happen, the historic Christ fades away and is obscured in legend and myth, not one of the accounts which we possess of His life and work being, in any real sense of the words, either trustworthy or credible.

The question, then, is one of primary importance, but unlike that which was considered in the previous paper it is a question, not of theory but of fact, and demands a specific rather than a general answer. Are miracles credible? Can

¹ p. 41.

we believe that miracles ever happen? This is the question and the scientific attitude to adopt towards it, is not to accept or reject all miracles indiscriminately, but to look at each alleged miraculous event separately, and to ask whether or not we believe that that particular event occurred. Granted that miracles are possible, this is simply a question of evidence. Each alleged miracle will have to be examined independently, and the character and the amount of the evidence in its support will have to be considered. Is the evidence contemporary? Is it consistent? Is it given by competent and reliable witnesses? Is it, in short, of such a character as to justify our accepting the alleged event as an historical fact. Thus the credibility of the Gospel miracles—as of all other miracles, whether those of the Old Testament, or of ecclesiastical and ‘secular’ history—will depend ultimately upon the character and amount of evidence in their support. If the evidence is sufficient, the miracle is credible, otherwise not.

But another question now arises. What do we mean by ‘*sufficient*’? What amount of evidence, if any, is *sufficient* to establish the historical character of an alleged miracle? This, of course, is the real point at issue between those who accept and those who reject the miraculous element in Christianity. Both agree, in the majority of cases, that the Gospel miracles were not, strictly speaking, impossible, but they disagree as to the sufficiency of the evidence. Those who accept the miracles do so on the ground that the evidence¹ in their support is sufficient to prove their occurrence; those who reject them do so on the ground that it is insufficient. As the evidence is the same for both, that a different conclusion is arrived at is due to the fact that the presuppositions, with which each approaches the question of the sufficiency of the evidence, are different. Thus our attitude towards the Gospel miracles will really depend upon our answer to this preliminary question—What

¹ By ‘evidence’ is meant not merely the positive and direct evidence, but also the ‘indirect evidence’ which in many cases creates a presupposition in favour of the inherent probability of the particular miracle under consideration. See below.

amount of evidence is sufficient to prove the occurrence of a miraculous event?—and it is therefore desirable to attempt to answer this question before proceeding to consider the evidence for these miracles.

No one can doubt that more evidence is required in the case of a miraculous than of a non-miraculous event. That this is true is a matter of experience. We feel instinctively that more evidence is required to justify a belief in the raising of Lazarus, or in the Resurrection, than in an ordinary event, such as the meeting of the Sanhedrin, or the trial before Pilate; and this hesitation in accepting the miraculous, this demand for more evidence, is perfectly rational, and for two reasons.

First, because science, especially in the discoveries of the last century, whether in the sphere of astronomy, or of geology, or of biology, has revealed to us more and more the method of God's working in the universe. It has shown us that this method is one of law and order, of evolution by natural selection, of development, gradual and almost insensible, by fixed and unchanging laws. These laws, the laws of nature, are, we believe, God's laws, and in them His unchanging purpose is realised from age to age. The greater our knowledge becomes, the more apparent it is that God works by uniform laws—this is what we mean when we speak of the 'uniformity of nature'; that there are no arbitrary interferences with these laws, no sudden changes and developments, and few, if any, extraordinary revelations of His power; and that, though God is ever at work in the universe, 'His Hand is rarely prominently thrust before our eyes.' Thus with every increase in our knowledge, there is a corresponding increase in the presumption against those special and exceptional manifestations of the Divine Will, which we term miracles.

These facts are of considerable importance, and the force of the argument based on them is not perhaps adequately realised by those who accept, unquestioningly and without discrimination, every miraculous event recorded in Jewish and Christian history. But, on the other hand, far too much emphasis is laid

upon them by those who assert that they raise a presumption against miracles, so strong and so absolute, that no amount of evidence whatever could possibly prove the occurrence of a miracle. There are one or two considerations which prevent us from drawing such a conclusion as this.

In the first place, 'uniformity' is not the only criterion of rational action.' There is no *necessity* for supposing that God always acts uniformly, and though science shows there is a strong presumption that as a rule this is the case, good evidence to the contrary must certainly be taken into account.

In the second place, it is probable, it is inherently rational to suppose, that God may desire at certain epochs to make some special manifestation of His Presence and to give some special revelation of His Will to His creatures. The Christian, at any rate, can have no difficulty in believing that this is the case, for a belief in the Incarnation is simply a belief that on one occasion at least He actually did do so. For the Christian believes that God Himself, for us men and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, and as man lived among men, revealing to them the Father's love.

In the third place, while admitting the uniformity of nature, while admitting that, generally speaking, God governs the Universe by uniform laws, it is not necessary that we should regard miracles, the special manifestations of His Power, as 'lawless.' It is possible, as Bishop Butler said,¹ that these 'miraculous interpositions may have been . . . by *general* laws of wisdom,' that is, that they may all have taken place in accordance with definite divine laws, one of which might, for example, be a 'law of economy,' that miracles should only take place at exceptional crises in the history of the race, and so on.

Thus, though science undoubtedly raises a presumption against the probability of miracles, too much stress must not be laid on this argument especially in view of the fact of the Incarnation.

¹ See the paper on Miracles by Dr. Rashdall, Northampton Church Congress, 1902.

² *Analogy*, Part II., chap. iv., § 113.

But, *secondly*, there is another reason why more evidence is required for a miraculous than for a non-miraculous event. Just as science raises a presumption against the probability of miracles, so also does 'history.' Speaking quite generally, a scientific study of history tends to show that, as it has been said, 'What is well attested is not really miracle, and what would be miracle is not really well attested.' As a rule the historian finds that those documents which record miraculous events are not very trustworthy, and that those events which are supposed to be miraculous and are supported by really first rate evidence, are not miracles in the strict sense of the word, but are capable of a naturalistic explanation, that is, are what were described in the previous paper as 'natural miracles.' This would seem to be the case with some of the 'ecclesiastical' miracles, and with the more credible miracles recorded by such historians as Livy and Herodotus.

This, of course, is quite true; but no definite conclusion of universal application can logically be drawn from it. It is highly unscientific to argue, as Matthew Arnold¹ practically does, that because some alleged miracles did not really happen, or else were not really miracles, therefore no real miracle ever really happened. And it is obviously absurd to maintain that because some documents which we cannot trust record miracles which we do not believe, therefore documents which we should otherwise trust,—such as the Gospels, the historical value of which modern criticism is constantly affirming,²—are not to be trusted simply because they record miracles. The only logical conclusion we can draw is this: No document which records miracles must be accepted, except on very good evidence, which really only amounts to saying once more that we require more evidence for miraculous than for non-miraculous events.

A study of science and of history, then, raises a presumption against the probability of miracles, but it does not,

¹ *God and the Bible*, pp. 19-25 and 232. See Hastings' *Dictionary*, article *Miracles*, Vol. III., p. 391, § 10, where Arnold's position is criticised.

² This point will be dealt with in the next paper.

as we have tried to show, warrant the conclusion that no amount of evidence is sufficient to establish the historical character of an alleged miracle. In order to illustrate this point still further, let us consider very briefly two of the forms in which the argument to show that no amount of evidence can prove the miraculous commonly appears.

First, let us take Hume's famous dictum: 'A miracle is 'a violation of the laws of nature; and . . . a firm and 'unalterable experience has established these laws. . . . Nothing 'is esteemed a miracle if it ever happen in the common 'course of nature. . . But it is a miracle that a dead man should 'come to life; because that has never been observed in any 'age or country. There must, therefore, be an uniform 'experience against every miraculous event, otherwise the 'event would not merit that appellation. And as an uniform 'experience amounts to a proof, there is here a direct and full 'proof . . . against the existence of any miracle.'

This argument is obviously not valid. If Hume's statement were true, if whatever is contrary to present experience were *ipso facto* impossible, or rather, incredible, then no perfectly new fact could ever be proved, since every witness would have all experience against him. We are constantly discovering new facts, and nobody disbelieves them simply because they are new, because previously we have had no experience of them. What about radium? What about the first 'flying-fish' that were seen, whose very existence, according to Hume, was impossible because 'an uniform experience' had shown that fish do not fly? What about the Röntgen rays? 'An uniform experience' had shown, and had therefore conclusively proved, that it was not possible to photograph the bones through the flesh.

But even if the statement were true, the argument is still unsound. Hume's position may be summed up in a single sentence—miracles are to be rejected because they are contrary to uniform experience. The sentence is ambiguous and

¹ Hume, *Essays and Treatises*, Vol. II., Essay I., § 10.

capable of a twofold interpretation, but, in whatever way we understand it, the argument is practically valueless.¹ The ambiguity lies in the use of the expression 'uniform experience,' which may mean either 'all experience' or 'general experience.' If 'all experience' is meant, then Hume is simply 'begging the question,' for the very thing that believers in miracles assert is that experience has *not* always given negative testimony on that point. His argument practically amounts to this: you cannot believe that a miracle has ever occurred, because a miracle never has occurred; you cannot believe that a man rose from the dead, because no man ever has risen from the dead. This, of course, is just the point in question—has a miracle ever occurred?—and it is, to say the least of it, quite unscientific to sweep away all the positive evidence for an alleged fact in this way. If, on the other hand, 'general experience' is meant, then Hume is simply stating a platitude, and his argument is nothing more than a bare statement of the fact that miracles are uncommon—a proposition which no believer in miracles would ever deny.

It would appear, then, that Hume fails in his attempt to destroy 'the credibility of miracles on the ground of the fallibility of human testimony.' The same argument, however, occasionally appears in a somewhat specious form. If, it is said, a man in whose veracity you have the utmost confidence—say, the Archbishop of Canterbury—were solemnly to assure you that he saw one of the lions in Trafalgar Square come down from its pedestal and drink water from the fountain, you would not believe him, and if fifty such witnesses, if the whole bench of Bishops, were to support his testimony, you would still refuse to believe that the incident took place.² In the same way, no amount of evidence, whatever its character, could possibly convince us that Lazarus was really restored to life after he had been dead four days.

¹ The criticism of Hume's argument, which follows, is taken from the article on 'Miracles,' in *Hastings' Dictionary*, Vol. III., p. 385, § 2.

² The argument is, I believe, Huxley's: the answer to it was suggested to me by Mr. E. N. Bennett, of Hertford College, Oxford.

It is not very difficult to meet this argument, for there is an obvious fallacy underlying it. The whole argument depends on a proposition which has not been, and never will be, proved, viz., that a large number of independent, honest and sensible witnesses can be found to testify to a plain matter of fact which never occurred at all—and the answer to it is very simple. The asserted fact is either possible or not: if it is possible, such evidence would undoubtedly prove it: if it is impossible, such evidence could not exist. It would be absurd to deny that no amount of evidence can prove the impossible, but granted that miracles are possible, it is a very different thing to say that no amount of evidence can prove the miraculous.

It is unreasonable then to maintain that no amount of evidence is sufficient to establish a belief in the reality of an alleged miracle. And yet, because the course of nature is so generally uniform, because miracles, in the strict sense of the word, so very rarely happen, and because many of the accounts of miraculous events are proved, upon careful investigation, to be quite untrustworthy, we realise that there is some special improbability attached to the miraculous in general, and that therefore we are justified in feeling a certain amount of hesitation in accepting as historical an alleged miracle.

What, then, should be our attitude towards an alleged miracle? On what grounds should we determine to accept or reject it? Miracles, though possible, are improbable. Science shows us that God generally works through uniform laws; consequently we should reject an alleged miracle unless it is felt that there is some special reason why this particular miracle should have been performed, why, in this particular case, the Creator should have deviated from the ordinary course of action which science, which experience, proves to be His rule; unless, that is, the improbability attached to miracles in general is overcome by some special probability in the case of the particular miracle under consideration.¹ A study of history teaches us that very many of the miracles recorded in ecclesiastical and

¹ Cfr. *Hastings' Dictionary*, Article *Miracles*, Vol. III., p. 386, § 5.

secular history are obviously fabulous ; consequently we should reject an alleged miracle unless there is in its support evidence which is at once strong, direct and convincing ; unless, that is, the untrustworthiness attached to miracle narratives in general, is overcome by some special claim on the part of the account of this particular miracle to be regarded as trustworthy.

In considering, then, the claims of an alleged miracle to be regarded as an historical fact, we must ask two questions. First, is the miracle antecedently probable ? Has it a meaning and a purpose ? What, apparently, is its result and aim ? Can we conceive of God as making such a special manifestation of His Will as is implied for such a purpose ? And secondly, is the evidence good ? Does it, apart from the fact that it relates to a miraculous event, satisfy the ordinary requirements of historical criticism ? Consequently, our belief in the credibility of the Gospel miracles will depend upon our conclusions in respect of two distinct lines of enquiry—first, as to the general credibility of the Gospels, and the direct evidence in favour of the miraculous element they contain ; and secondly, as to the antecedent probability in favour of these particular miracles when viewed in the light of our belief in the Incarnation and in relation to the part which, as an historical fact, these miracles have played in connection with the development of the Christian religion, and consequently in connection with the whole progress and development of the human race. This will be the subject of our next paper, but it is perhaps desirable, for the sake of greater clearness, to say just a word here with reference to the direct evidence, found outside the Gospels, in support of the miracles which are there recorded.

First there is the testimony of St. Paul in his four great Epistles (Galatians, I. and II. Corinthians, and Romans), which were written before the year 60 A.D. and are accepted almost universally as genuine. It is true that St. Paul does not refer directly to our Lord's miracles (except, of course, the Resurrection) yet still his testimony is of very great value in considering the evidence for the Gospel miracles, for throughout

these Epistles the performance of miracles by St. Paul and by other members of the Church is assumed as a 'notorious and unquestioned fact,' and the performance of miracles in the second stage of the history of the Church affords a strong presumption in favour of their performance in the first stage by Christ Himself.¹

The testimony of St. Paul, then, is almost contemporary : it is practically undisputed ; and, what makes it still more valuable, it is indirect. It is, in short, of such a character that we may say that it is practically as certain as anything can be, that St. Paul himself, and also his converts, believed that he performed miracles. Many passages from the Epistles might be quoted to illustrate this fact, but it will perhaps be sufficient to take one instance only. In writing to the Church at Corinth, he says, 'Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works' (II. Corinth. xii. 12). Now this passage is of very great importance for our present purpose, especially if we bear in mind the circumstances under which the Epistle was written.

St. Paul had many enemies, particularly among the Jewish Christians, and some of these had gone to Corinth and had partially succeeded in undermining his power and influence in that city by persuading his converts that, as he had never actually been a disciple of Jesus, he was not really an Apostle in the same sense as Peter and James. All through the Epistle St. Paul is endeavouring to justify his apostolic claims, and in support of them he declares that he has wrought at Corinth 'the signs of an Apostle, by signs and wonders and mighty works.'

St. Paul, then, attempts to prove that he is a true Apostle by an appeal to the miracles which he has performed. From this fact two important conclusions may be drawn. First, that the power of performing miracles was considered a proof of apostleship, or, as it has been said, that miracles were regarded as 'the credentials of an Apostle.' And, secondly, that St.

¹ Cf. Dr. Sanday's paper on *Miracles*, Northampton Church Congress, 1902.

Paul must undoubtedly have performed what were believed to be miracles. To prove to the Church at Corinth his apostleship, he appeals to certain miracles which he declares he has performed in that city. Had no miracles been performed, such an appeal would never have been made. There must have been many among those to whom the Epistle was addressed who remembered quite well all the incidents connected with St. Paul's visits to Corinth, and who, had there been no miracles, could easily have contradicted his statements, and consequently have denied his conclusions.

St. Paul's appeal to his miracles, then, practically amounts to a proof positive of their performance by him. And if St. Paul worked miracles is it not probable that Jesus Christ also performed them, for, as it has been aptly said, 'the work of St. Paul was but a ripple in the great upheaval of Christ's spiritual work.'¹

Secondly, as indirect evidence in favour of the Gospel miracles, we have the Acts of the Apostles, the historical importance of which, thanks in a great measure to the valuable work of Professor Ramsay, is becoming increasingly recognised by scholars, the earlier chapters of which are said by Dr. Sanday to be of 'very considerable value.' Here, in addition to miracle narratives, we have abundant evidence of the fact that the Apostles were generally believed to perform miracles—'By the hand of the Apostles,' the historian tells us, 'were many signs and wonders wrought' (Acts v. 12); and of the general belief of the Apostolic age in the miracles of Christ—on the day of Pentecost, Peter speaks of Jesus as 'a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you, even as ye yourselves know' (Acts ii. 22); and to Cornelius he speaks of Him as 'anointed with the Holy Ghost and power,' going about 'doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil' (Acts x. 38).

Now, the Acts was probably written sometime between the years 60 and 85 A.D., and even if all the facts narrated in it

¹ Archdeacon Wilson.

cannot be accepted as strictly and literally historical—we do not wish to imply that this is the case, but even if it were—still, the book may be regarded as embodying with substantial accuracy the ideas and beliefs which were prevalent during this early period of Church history, and it undoubtedly bears witness to the fact that it was generally believed during the Apostolic age that Jesus and the Apostles had worked miracles.

Bearing in mind this fact we shall proceed, in the next paper, to examine the Gospels themselves, and shall endeavour to test the value of the evidence which they bear to the miraculous character of much of our Lord's work. An attempt will also be made to estimate the part which miracles have played in the development of the Christian religion, in order to show that there was an adequate reason for their performance, which gives to these particular miracles a special probability outweighing the improbability attached to miracles in general.

RICHARD BROOK.



THE BIBLICAL STORY OF CREATION.

I.

There was a time when it would be considered wicked to suggest any alternative to the traditional interpretation of Holy Scripture; but, happily, the progress of education and recent discoveries in the fields of criticism, history, and archæology have compelled us to take a larger-minded view both of things in general and of theology in particular. There was a time when the first chapter of Genesis was thought to be the oldest piece of writing in the Bible, and when it was held to have given a definite and final answer to man's questionings about the origin of the universe. But neither of these positions can now be maintained. The division of Genesis into its various sources makes it plain that however ancient the substance of the first chapter may be, the form in which it has come down to us is comparatively late; while the archæologist traces for us the ultimate source from which our story of Creation is derived. Cosmogonies or creation-stories are found among most nations of antiquity, but the Babylonian epic of creation (now in the British Museum) affords the nearest parallel to the opening verses of the Hebrew Bible, and probably dates from the 22nd or 23rd century B.C. Two of the seven tablets on which the poem was written are still missing, but the general outline of the story is clear. Creation is divided into seven successive acts. Heaven and earth are evolved out of watery chaos, represented by two primæval powers, *Apsu* and *Tiamat*, out of whom spring two generations of deities.

In course of time a contest took place between *Tiamat*, who is pictured as a dragon (see Amos ix. 3, Job xxvi. 12, and other passages) and the gods, at the end of which the dragon was slain, and part of her skin was used, like the Biblical 'firmament,' to shut in the upper waters. Then the god Merodach

made the stars, arranged the years and months, and ordained the moon to rule over the night and the sun over the day. Many details could be added, but this brief description will suffice to indicate that both the Hebrew and the Babylonian creation-stories go back to a common source. The resemblances between the two accounts are obvious, but the differences are equally unmistakable. The Babylonian epic is crude and polytheistic: gods and universe alike emerge out of the watery abyss, chaos is anterior to godhead, and light is the result of a war between a deity and chaos. In the Hebrew version God is One and spiritual; He calls everything into being by the mere fiat of His will. Matter is neither pre-existent nor antagonistic to God, but all creation is His handiwork, and He saw that it was good. An ancient Semitic folk-story has been (under God's inspiration) 'stripped of its pagan deformities' and used 'as the vehicle of religious truth.'

The Hebrew, then, is not the oldest, but it is the best and purest of the ancient cosmogonies; and it is remarkable, too, looking at the account as a whole, how closely it agrees with the discoveries of science and geology. It is a guess, no doubt, but it is a very good guess. This fact has led many brilliant and well-meaning scholars in the past to attempt to 'reconcile' the first chapter of Genesis with the revelations of modern science. But, as rationalists are so fond of telling us, no amount of special pleading can explain away the creation of the sun on the fourth 'day,' that is, three 'days' after light, and the separation of the earth from the seas on the third 'day,' the creation of aquatic animals and birds on the same 'day,' and the appearance of vegetation two 'days' before that of animals. Nor can it be maintained, in the face of passages like Genesis i. 5 and 8 and Exodus xx. 11, that the author meant the six 'days' to be understood otherwise than as six literal days. We know now from the light which God has given us through the study of science that gradual change through countless ages was the process by which the universe assumed its present form; that this planet of ours 'laboured for millions of years' in order to

produce cosmos out of chaos and bring forth the human race ; that the earth once belonged to one and the same system with the sun, and that it was afterwards detached from a gaseous mass of which the sun was the centre. The rocks have disclosed their secrets, and we learn from them that fishes, small reptiles, and insects appeared before the birds of the air ; we have learnt, too, that vegetable and animal life were contemporaneous. The science of Genesis, then, is not modern science and cannot be 'reconciled' with it ; it is 'the science of the age in which it was written.'

Hence we conclude that the first chapter of Genesis is not designed primarily to answer questions which ought rather to be answered by physical science. 'Scripture supplies no short cuts for the intellect.' It is not God's method to reveal to men what they can find out for themselves ; and it is absurd to expect to find in Genesis anticipations either of the nebular hypothesis or of any other conclusion of modern science. God speaks to men through men, and only in the language which men can understand. A simple and child-like age cannot grasp abstract ideas without the aid of concrete pictures ; and so this primitive account of the Creation is only the 'peg,' as it were, on which there hangs a wealth of spiritual teaching. It is a revelation of the first principles of religion, couched in a form which can be apprehended by the popular imaginations of every age.

If once we realise this fact we shall have a clearer perception of the real value of this Hebrew narrative. We shall recognise that it is a religious and not a scientific history of the world, and that, while its science is antiquated, its religious truths are permanent and unassailable. While gladly accepting the light which human research throws upon the wonderful works of God, we shall remember that there are things which science by itself cannot discover. God, who is a Spirit, cannot be contained in a test-tube or be seen through a telescope. For religious teaching we shall turn to God's Book, and in the first chapter of Genesis we shall be taught, as were

the Hebrews of old, that God is the ultimate source and sustainer of the universe; that He works by slow degrees, bringing into being the lower before the higher creatures; that every stage of the process is governed by His will and achieves His purpose; that all creation is essentially good, and therefore (by implication) that only fallen man is vile, and that the culmination of the upward movement is man, who is made in the image of God. These are eternal truths, whose infinite religious value age cannot wither nor custom stale.

S. L. BROWN.

SURGICAL TREATMENT OF THE EYE AND HAMMURABI'S CODE.—In a recent issue of the German medical journal, *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*, there appears an article which serves to illustrate the statement that our views of the antiquity of civilisation are undergoing a gradual revolution.

Prof. Magnus, the author of the article, has won an honourable position in the medical world by his writings on professional subjects, and in particular by his history of the treatment of diseases of the eye. He remarks that until recently we had no knowledge of operations on the eye prior to the time of Hippocrates, and even in his day only the less dangerous operations of removing tumours from the lid and cornea were performed. But the Code of Hammurabi contains allusions to a more delicate operation, which Prof. Magnus does not doubt refers to the removal of cataract, that is, the pushing aside of the lens, which has become clouded through imperfect nutrition. In this striking instance of a dangerous operation performed at an extremely early date, the Code has compelled us to carry back the rise of surgical practice, through many hundreds of years, to a day when we could hardly have believed it could exist in so highly developed a form.

MONTHLY STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ST. MARK.

BRIEF INTRODUCTION.

It is beside our present purpose to discuss the origin of this short but singularly beautiful Gospel: a Gospel whose value long remained comparatively unrecognised till recent times disclosed its worth. And yet if we would profit by a detailed study of the book we can ill afford to shirk the question of its authorship, its date and its destination. Nor must we omit briefly to consider its purpose and trace the general outline of its plan.

AUTHORSHIP.

An old tradition makes St. Mark the author and says he wrote the Gospel as St. Peter's interpreter. There is no reason to doubt this statement, and many facts gleaned from the New Testament itself point us to a similar conclusion. We read the pages of St. Mark and are struck with its crisp and graphic narrative. Picture after picture passes before our eyes each quickened with a vivid touch which carries us to the heart of the event. There are the animated scenes caused by the early miracles of Jesus—the crowds who hasten and gather in their joyful excitement, and eagerly bear their sick to His healing touch; and we are made actually to feel the fear of the disciples as they follow their Lord on His journey to Jerusalem. Some of the descriptive expressions are of great value from a chronological point of view, as, for example, when the hungry villagers are fed by their compassionate Teacher, the narrator informs us that 'they sat upon the *green* grass.' Grass is only green at the Passover, and the artless remark affords an important clue when it is our task to compare the first three gospels with the fourth. Ere we close the book

we are forced to the conclusion that the writer tells no borrowed tale, but had seen the things whereof he wrote. The question now presents itself: Who was this man whose memory was a storehouse of sacred scenes? Tradition, we have said, points to St. Peter and tells us that 'St. Mark, as St. Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered, both of the words and deeds of Christ, not, however, in order.' This is the account which Papias, a writer of the very early Church, has left, and a study of the Gospel itself lends support to his assertion.

On three great occasions—the raising of Jairus' daughter, the transfiguration, and the trial in the garden of Gethsemane—our Lord permitted none save Peter, James, and John to be with Him. And in the records of these events, as in other narratives of the Gospel, the traces of an eye-witness are unmistakable, and the possible source is thus limited to St. Peter, St. James, or St. John. St. James suffered early martyrdom: St. John wrote a Gospel of his own and we may safely conclude that the story which this Gospel so beautifully tells came from the lips of St. Peter.

If we examine the tradition which says 'Mark was Peter's interpreter,' we shall find confirmation from the few facts we possess of St. Mark's life and travels. He was the son of Mary, in whose house at Jerusalem St. Peter sought shelter when he was rescued from imprisonment. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their early missionary tours, and, although unhappily he at first roused St. Paul's displeasure, we find him at a later date forgiven and restored. In the second letter which he writes to Timothy, St. Paul desires him to bring Mark, and when the brief letter to Philemon is dispatched Mark is already with the Apostle. And, in later years, perhaps when St. Paul was dead, Mark continued his labours under St. Peter's leadership, and St. Peter, when writing his first epistle, calls him his 'son in the faith.'

Yet another interesting incident suggests that St. Mark was the writer. The mention of the nameless young man

who followed Jesus at the time of His betrayal, and who suffered the loss of his cloak as he fled from the grasp of his would-be captors, is pointless until we see in it an event in which the author is the chief actor. John Mark was young at the time: his mother had a house in Jerusalem, and who so likely as he himself to be the one whose escape he narrates. Well might the terror of that night dwell in his memory.

Such are the grounds for our conclusion that this Gospel embodies an account of the life of Jesus which St. Peter was accustomed to preach and which St. Mark set down in written form. It may be that advancing years had warned St. Peter that his ministry was drawing near its close, and that he bade St. Mark record the story of our Lord's life in lasting form; or perhaps the Apostle's death had caused the Church at Rome to urge St. Mark to the task he has fulfilled so well.

PURPOSE AND PLAN.

We are so accustomed to read our Gospels piecemeal that we come to think of them rather as a series of stories strung together than as a book with a definite plan. Each Gospel, however, has its own scheme and we suffer serious loss when it is obscured by careless habits of study.

In none is the plan more definite than in St. Mark. Its vigour and its freshness, its rapid movement, and the quick succession of events lead us from stage to stage in the history of a wonderful life. Nor are the omissions without their significance. The ancestry, the birth and infancy of our Lord, and the early appearance of the Baptist, which occupy so many chapters in the other Gospels are passed by in silence or dismissed in a few brief sentences. And after the crucifixion the narrative, which had become full and rich while it was occupied with our Lord's public ministry draws abruptly to a close.

The Galilean Ministry (S. Mark i.-vii. 24).,

In fact the whole plan of the Gospel is to deal with the active life of Jesus Christ. It describes the claims which He

gradually advanced, and the teaching which made men hang upon His words; and then contrasts with this the opposition which His ministry awoke. While the miracles made the multitude enthusiastic, the searching and fearless words of the new Teacher drove the Pharisees to cast about for means to silence His unwelcome voice.

Our Lord meets the popular enthusiasm with reserve, and seeks to stay the excitement caused by His miracles. He bids the leper He has cured to 'go his way, and tell no man.' Men's mere interest in the miraculous elements of His work revealed a mistaken estimate of His mission.

The opposition of the religious rulers grew serious; they could not brook the calmness with which the new Teacher condemned their traditions. His words were too clear and searching; and the more they revealed the worthlessness of a religious system which had lost its vitality, the more determined were His enemies that, cost what it might, He must be removed from their midst. Our Lord seemed to see in the opposition a shadow of the end, and prepared for its approach by appointing a body of twelve whom He might more definitely instruct ere He Himself was taken from their midst. The antagonism of His own family, the fury of the Pharisees, and the spiritual dulness of the people, made a longer stay useless, and He journeyed from Galilee in company with His disciples. Thus closed the first period of His ministry.

Period of Wandering and Teaching the Twelve.
(*S. Mark vii. 24—x. 1.*)

Driven from His own land our Lord has yet a work to perform. When the many refuse to learn He turns to teach the few. The faithful little group of disciples set forth with the Teacher who had won their confidence and their devotion, and together they entered into Gentile territory. But we misread this period of wandering if we see in it a mission to the Gentiles. The story of the Syrophenician woman while wonderfully suggestive of the ultimate broad universalism of

Jesus Christ's work is but an incident, nay more it gives Him timely opportunity to declare that the Jews were at this time the primary object of His care. He would first complete in them the work His Father had begun.

We can trace the training during these months of the elements which went to form the nucleus of the Church that was to be. In the small body of disciples we may see the earliest members of the kingdom which Christ had come to found. Their Master saw that the hour was at hand to tell in clearer terms what kind of spirit was to dominate their life and raise their aspirations. He had led them patiently forward until they recognised in Him the Promised One, the King who was to come. The multitude believed Messiah would subdue his foes of force and wield the weapons of an earthly might. Jesus taught the twelve a better way—a new and living way. His kingdom was not an earthly kingdom nor were the weapons of His warfare carnal. He would not force submission: He would win hearts. His own life taught men the spirit of His rule. 'He was oppressed, yet He humbled Himself and opened not His mouth.' The path he trod was theirs to traverse too, all who would follow Him must deny themselves and bear their cross: they must save their life by losing it. To live the life of righteousness which He set forth was no guarantee of earthly fame, and the man who would make it his must often pay, as the price of it, all things which other men hold dear. But it is a righteousness which brings its own reward. 'Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it' (Mark viii. 35). The closing lesson of this period teaches that the great ones in the kingdom of heaven are those who labour most abundantly for other's good.

The Journey from Galilee to Jerusalem (S. Mark x. 1—xi. 1).

While St. Matthew and St. Luke dwell at length on the incidents of the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, St. Mark is more than usually brief. In St. Luke the chapters in this period contain parables of exceptional beauty. The Lost Sheep, the

Prodigal Son, and the mislaid pieces of silver have no counterpart in St. Mark. All that the latter relates are some disputes with cavillers, which are ominous of the approach of the end, and some teaching in which our Lord more explicitly declares the nature of the kingdom of God. The period draws to a close with the touching picture of the disciples' fear, and their resolve to follow their Lord as He goes to meet a fate they vaguely dread.

The questions which had arisen and were put to our Lord were designed to test His authority as a teacher. His masterly replies and His entire grasp of the principles which underlay each perplexing problem showed that He exercised authority through His eternal fitness to lead and rule. Difficulties were advanced which had long exercised the minds of men, and called forth endless debate. Fanaticism or a careless indolence had made a solution impossible, and rival schools fought hotly for their own opinions. Our Lord raises the discussion to the highest plane, and His answers turn on the essential principle involved. In questions of divorce, of tribute, or of resurrection, the point of view is changed and the difficulty disappears.

Jerusalem (S. Mark xi. 1—xvi. 20).

The end is drawing near, and the narrative runs quickly on from scene to scene, leading always nearer to the climax. In private intercourse Jesus had led His disciples to acknowledge His Messiahship, and line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, he had raised their thoughts as to the nature of His claim. Now the time had arrived when, no longer secretly, but openly, He must claim His kingship. He did this by accepting the eager homage of the joyful Hosannah and the palm-strewn road. He is the true King, and He claims devotion from all. But when the homage had been paid, He reveals by subsequent acts and sufferings the nature of His sovereignty.

But the kingship which He required was foreign to the people's thought, and their bitter disappointment on learning that He was not a king after their own heart can alone account

for the revulsion of feeling which a few days later turned the acclamations of the multitude into the fierce cry 'Crucify Him ! Crucify Him !'

Three courses had faced our Lord in this trying time. He might play the crowd against the Sanhedrim, but to do so He must accept the people's estimate and think the people's thought, and to this He would not condescend. From the second course He also turns aside and refuses to use the legions of angels which waited His command. He would employ no supernatural means, no means which lay beyond the reach of ordinary men. He would not cheapen His righteousness by an escape from suffering, and He came not to destroy His enemies but 'to seek and to save.' One way alone remained and it led through 'the valley of the shadow of death.' It was duty's path and He would not flinch. He died for righteousness' sake and His death was 'a ransom for many.'

THE ROMANCE OF HYMNOLOGY.

II.

No man can take up the subject of hymn-singing at the Reformation without at once being confronted with the great name of Martin Luther. In a very true sense Luther was the founder of modern hymn-singing. The son of a poor miner, he often had to sing for alms in the public streets. Indeed music was one of his chief delights, singing was his favourite recreation, and he used to accompany himself on the lute. The assistance given him by his love of music in spreading the principles of the Reformation was simply incalculable. It was on the wings of hymns, we are told, that the Reformation flew through Germany.¹

Wandering minstrels had been popular for some time. And now instead of the songs of love and war written by the minne-singers, the people got hold of the last hymn of Luther and sang it in the streets. 'The whole people,' wrote a Romanist at the time, 'is singing itself into this Lutheran doctrine.'²

Luther did as much for the Reformation, said Coleridge, by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible, or to put the same truth the other way on, from the point of view of a Jesuit writer, 'the songs of Luther have killed more souls than all his books and all his words.'³

Perhaps the hymn that is most associated with his name is his paraphrase of the 46th Psalm, 'A sure stronghold our God is He.' The grand tune that he wrote for it is put in many English hymn books to Sir Henry Baker's hymn 'Rejoice to-day with one accord.' Both hymn and tune were sung over Luther's grave and the first lines cut on his tomb-stone. The

¹ It is interesting to remember that the Arian heresy, 1,000 years and more before, owed a considerable part of its popularity to the hymns and hymn-singing with which it was connected.

² *Christian Hymns and Hymn Writers*, p. 68.

³ *Hymns and their Stories*, p. 97.

hymn that is most frequently identified with him—that solemn Advent hymn ‘Great God, what do I see and hear’—was not written by him, although the tune is almost certainly his. His hymns are hardly suitable for use in modern services as they are more like small sermons or compendiums of instruction, perfect for their original purpose, but scarcely adapted to the requirements of an ordinary congregation. This accounts for the fact that few have been translated and adopted in English hymn-books.

But what about England all this time? Did not the greater outburst of music which accompanied the Reformation in Germany and elsewhere extend to England too? Alas, it did not. From the point of view of hymn-singing a thick darkness settled down over our country at the Reformation and continued for well-nigh 300 years. It is very difficult to explain the cause, but two facts must be borne in mind. The first is that when the English Prayer Book appeared the old Latin hymns to which the people had been accustomed altogether disappeared. It was right, of course, that some of them should go owing to the false doctrine which they contained, but many if not most of them were quite unobjectionable, and Archbishop Cranmer was very anxious that the best of them should be translated and incorporated in the Prayer Book, along with the many ancient and beautiful collects which were taken on from the Old Service books. When, however, the first English Prayer Book appeared, only one of them was left, the *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the Ordination Service. The reason for this lies in the second fact to which I would call attention, viz., that Calvin and the Swiss Reformers, who had so large an influence on the English Reformation, had somehow got into their heads the idea that it was wrong to sing anything in Church that was not taken direct from the Bible. This idea was eagerly adopted later on by the English Puritans, and accordingly for nearly three centuries the metrical psalms reigned supreme. These were in no way imposed upon the people by authority. Far from it. The injunctions of Queen Elizabeth gave free permission to use

‘any hymn or such like song at morning and evening prayer.’ But all in vain. The metrical psalms and other paraphrases were all the fashion and continued in favour for long years. I say other paraphrases; for the putting of the Bible into rhyme, usually very doggerel rhyme, was by no means confined to the Psalms. The song of Solomon was a favourite book for this purpose. Extraordinary as it may seem, there were metrical versions of the genealogies. One of these old books is entitled a *Hive of Honey* and consists of the first half of the Book of Genesis in rhyme. Another describes itself as ‘the Acts of the Apostles translated into English metre and dedicated to the King’s most excellent Majestie to sing and also to play upon the lute.’ On the whole it must be admitted that the authors of these paraphrases were, as old Fuller, the Church Historian, wittily puts it, ‘men whose piety was better than their poetry.’ And yet there are a few of these old paraphrases which will last as long as English hymns are sung. There is the *Old Hundredth*, for example, probably written by a refugee with John Huss at Geneva. This is practically the only one of the genuine old paraphrases which still survives in our hymn books. There are, of course, several taken from the later and better versions made in the 17th and 18th centuries. As, for example, ‘How bright those glorious spirits shine,’ which is a metrical version of the passage in the Revelation beginning, ‘I beheld and lo a great multitude which no man could number;’ ‘Through all the changing scenes of life’—a version of the 34th Psalm; ‘As pants the heart’—the 42nd Psalm; and ‘While shepherds watched their flocks by night’—a metrical version of the second lesson for Christmas day. These are all taken from Tate and Brady’s famous book, published at the end of the 17th century. To most minds these leave nothing to be desired; but compared to the wearisome rhymes by which they are surrounded they are like stars shining in the darkness.

And yet there were other gleams of light as well. In 1623 the first *bona-fide* English hymn book was published. It was almost at once suppressed by the Puritans, but still it was an attempt

which ought not to be forgotten. Its compiler was George Withers and though he obtained for it Royal sanction it only brought him ignominy and persecution. It contains hymns for all manner of states and seasons, not merely for Church Festivals, but for all the ordinary experiences of life. There are hymns for use 'when on a boat'; 'for sheep-shearing'; 'house-warming'; 'jailors'; 'prisoners'; 'members of Parliament'; and many others. A few years from this brings us to the Restoration and with it comes Bishop Ken who gave us some of the choicest hymns we possess. For example, the morning and evening hymns, 'Awake my soul and with the Sun' and 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night,' are his. It is only when we get to the 18th century that the day of English hymn singing begins to break. It was the Nonconformists who first began to introduce real hymn singing into their worship. The dawn of the 18th century found the process quietly and cautiously beginning in one or two Chapels. If it was the Puritan spirit that crushed down all hymn-singing in the 16th and 17th centuries, it was the Puritan spirit that laid the foundation of modern hymn-singing in the 18th century. And the very notion which was the bane of all Church music in those earlier years—the notion that everything sung must come straight from the Bible—was transformed in later times into the glory of English hymn-singing. For the glory of our English hymns is that they so wonderfully reflect and reproduce the spirit of the English Bible. The idea, therefore, which in the letter was utter bondage, in the spirit was and is the very crown of our English hymns.

I must not do more than mention some of the great hymn-writers of the 18th century. First and foremost was Isaac Watts, himself a Nonconformist Minister at Southampton. It must suffice to mention some items of the debt we owe to him. 'There is a land of pure delight,' 'O God, our Help in ages past,' and 'Jesus shall reign where'er the sun'—both the last two are strictly speaking paraphrases of psalms; 'Come, let us join our cheerful songs;' and perhaps most precious of all

‘When I survey the wondrous cross.’ This last was one of a set of sacramental hymns written by Watts for special use at the Holy Communion. It is a significant and interesting fact that the Lord’s Supper was, in those early days, the chief and at first the only occasion for hymn singing, and that among the Nonconformists. An ancient book of this date speaks of the metrical psalms as being sung during the administration of the Communion to the people.

Another Nonconformist Minister, and friend of Watts, was Philip Doddridge. Here are some treasures which he has bequeathed to us: ‘Hark, the glad sound! the Saviour comes,’ ‘Ye servants of the Lord,’ and, most beautiful of all, ‘My God, and is Thy table spread?’

The full daylight of English hymn-singing however was only reached when the great spiritual Revival of John Wesley began to sweep through the land; and the name that must always stand at the head of any list of English hymn-writers is that of his brother Charles. For the hymns he wrote I must refer you to the index in our hymn books, and even there you will not find one tithe of the whole. Suffice it to say that he wrote the favourite Advent hymn, ‘Lo, He comes with clouds descending,’ the favourite Christmas hymn, ‘Hark, the herald angels sing,’ and also the hymn which according to many authorities, is best loved throughout the English speaking world, ‘Jesu, lover of my soul.’ The only other hymn that seriously challenges this position is the one written not long after by Toplady, the country curate, ‘Rock of ages.’ The end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th brings us to the Evangelical Revival and this too had its hymn-writers: William Cowper, the poet, and his friend and vicar, John Newton. To Cowper we owe such choice hymns as ‘Hark, my soul, it is the Lord,’ ‘O! for a closer walk with God,’ ‘God moves in a mysterious way,’ ‘There is a Fountain filled with blood,’ ‘Jesu, wher’er Thy people meet.’ Newton wrote more hymns than his friend, but their quality was not so fine. Still there are two of his at least which are of the highest order:

'Glorious things of Thee are spoken' and 'How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds.' But although the 18th century saw the writing of many of our best and most beautiful hymns, we must not suppose that hymn singing in our Churches was either frequent or popular. Far from it. The prejudice against it was still very strong. Dr. Johnson, for instance, recorded his own triumph over this prejudice when he wrote of a poor girl whom he saw at Holy Communion: 'I gave her privately half-a-crown, though I saw a hymn book in her hand.'

I must not carry the story further, though many famous names of later times leap at once to the mind: Neale and Montgomery, Keble, Faber and Newman, Heber and Kirke-white, Charlotte Elliot and Frances Ridley Havergal.¹ But one thing there is to which I must call attention: that even now hymn-singing in our Church is a comparatively modern innovation. The great Charles Simeon, for example, advised a friend, whose Bishop was angry with him for introducing them, to put them aside as quite unnecessary. It will scarcely be believed that the first use of hymns, as opposed to metrical psalms, at the annual service of the Church Missionary Society, at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, was in 1882.²

The efficient cause of real hymn-singing is spiritual life and spiritual enthusiasm. It is hardly too much to say that every age of spiritual revival has brought with it an outburst of sacred song. For a modern illustration of this we have only to look at what is going on in South Wales before our very eyes.

And if the years that are coming are to be as rich in Christian hymnody as those that are passed, the same cause must take effect, and the same Spirit as of old must touch the hearts and minds of men.

F. THEODORE WOODS.

¹ The hymns of the 19th century demand full and separate treatment such as cannot be attempted here.

² *History of the C.M.S.*, I. 140.

ENGLAND'S HOUSING QUESTION.

PAST AND PRESENT.

II.—THE PRESENT.

In some respects the Housing evil in this land is worse than when the first efforts for Housing Reform began sixty years ago. It is true, that for *sample* we could not now produce such cases of domestic abominations as our near forefathers sometimes dragged into the public gaze,—but for *bulk* the Housing mischief is larger than ever. And this is easily explained. Sixty years ago the rush from the country to the cities and towns had not commenced. To-day the enormous areas of crowded and poverty-stricken human life in East and South London, together with the growth of wretched-looking working class suburbs all over the country, are spectacles of what sort of Housing conditions English people now feel compelled to accept. Nor is England alone in this matter of crowded home life. Germany, America, Sweden and Norway, have all got their Housing problems as a result of the movement of the people from the country to the towns.¹

Berlin, New York, Stockholm and Christiania can show on a smaller scale a more unsatisfactory state of things as regards one-room homes than even London can, although the scale on which London's Housing plague works is still the most amazing phenomenon of twentieth century civilisation.

But while the Housing evil is a bigger thing in England to-day than ever before—while a greater measure of the human life of the nation is directly affected by it,—yet the outlook is brighter than anything which the first housing reformers were permitted to see.

'Housing' has now a hold upon the public mind. The Press is on its side. Parliament has yielded to its demands. 'Housing Acts' are upon the Statute Book, and more will soon be there. Municipalities have their Housing Committees, and in some cases their Housing provision. Philanthropy is to the front in the supply of the best Block-dwellings for the city, and the best

¹ Vide Rowntree's "*Poverty*," page 161, popular edition.

model cottages for the country.¹ Railway Companies have been captured, and by their cheap workmen's trains, and by the compulsory erection of block dwellings whenever small houses are pulled down for railway extension, have been made to serve in the cause of housing reform. Medical Officers of Public Health Departments and sanitary inspectors are among its keenest supporters. And clergy and ministers now regard it as part of their duty to plead and strive for some adequate concession on the part of the nation for the home life of the nation's poor. All this is progress. All this would make even Carlyle moderate his scolding, and force from him a tribute of grumbling praise.

But much remains to be done before England's Housing Question can be said to have been satisfactorily dealt with.

Child life is still sacrificed on a vast scale by bad housing conditions. In the *Times* of November 15th, 1904, the Ex-Mayor of St. Pancras, London, shows us what is going on still in this direction. He states that 'in some of the St. Pancras slums the birth rate and the death rate have recently equalized each other. One in every five infants died during the first year of their existence, which meant a death rate of 200 per 1000. This alarming state of affairs was found to be co-existent with insanitary and overcrowded conditions in the dwellings of the very poor. It was also found that there were 600 illegally occupied underground rooms where the people lived and slept, and where sunshine and fresh air had difficulty in penetrating.'

We had begun to hope that all the sensational things had been said on this subject, and that the old housing horrors which used to be dished up to make the public flesh 'creep' were things of the past. But the revelations made by the Ex-Mayor of St. Pancras warn us not to be too confident about the nation's housing progress.

The truth of the matter is, that so long as wages earned by multitudes of English people are relatively small and difficult to get,—and so long as the cost of house-room is high,—we shall always be having these cases of human herding and human worsening brought before us. For after all it is not so much an affair of providing sufficient and suitable house-room for the swarming masses in our cities and towns. The accommodation needed *can* be made to exist in plenty. But if the income of the family be relatively small, the housing accommodation hired will be small also. And

¹ As witness the magnificent buildings erected by the Guinness Trust in London, and the first-class small houses built on many a large rural estate.

thus we see that the housing evil has its tap root not in vice—not, as is sometimes illnaturally said, in a love of what is muddled and dirty,—and not even for the most part in the thriftless habits of the victims. These things, of course, do operate in the housing evil—but they are not the main causes of the hydra-headed confusion which bad housing now means. The principal source is the nation's increasing class poverty. The majority of the sufferers from England's housing miseries do not improve their home accommodation for the simple but all-powerful reason that they are utterly unable to pay the price for it. Mr. Rowntree brings out this aspect of the problem in his recent book on *Poverty*. He shows by the most elaborate and carefully-tested statistics that 'while rent only absorbs nine per cent. of the total income of the few exceptionally well-to-do working classes in York—earning as much or more than sixty shillings a week,—it absorbs no less than 29 per cent. of the total income of the very poor, whose family earnings are under eighteen shillings weekly,' (*p. 165, Popular Edition*).

It therefore seems that so long as there are large masses of people who are unable to earn a wage sufficiently ample for their proper needs, we shall always have the housing difficulty with us. And if it be true, as warring politicians, seeking for a good party-cry tell us, that there are now twelve millions of people in this country who are in a chronic state of poverty—the future will most certainly bring with it continuous trouble from these same twelve millions of our countrymen and countrywomen, who ought to be able to house themselves with decency, but whose slender and precarious means will not permit them to do so.

Notwithstanding the hard lot of these unfortunate people, however, we are bound as a self-respecting nation to wage war with all that makes housing an indecency and a national danger. Accordingly, while recognising that bad housing comes chiefly from unavoidable poverty,—and while giving due attention and making proper effort in that direction,—we must at the same time insist that as far as possible the victims of such poverty shall not be permitted to live in domestic conditions which are worse than they need be.

The better class representatives of the poorest poor pride themselves on being clean, even though they are poor. This is an ideal which the most abject want cannot destroy in some of our people, and the nation will be wise—the nation will be helping its poorest members very effectively—if through its officials and responsible

authorities it calls upon all concerned to strive towards such an ideal. And certainly there is crying need for this action on the part of the State. The windows of a railway carriage as it passes by the back-yards of houses adjacent to all our towns and cities reveal conditions of unnecessary squalor, which the local Sanitary Authorities might easily be empowered—if they have not the power already—to inspect and correct. In this one direction alone an immense amount of work is waiting for the common sense of the nation to insist on being done.

The French novelist, Zola, seems to have been impressed by his railway views of England's domestic back-yards. We are told that on the occasion of his last visit to this country—'As the train approached Clapham Junction M. Zola's face was glued to the window.

'At the sight of all the mean, dusty streets, lined with little houses of uniform pattern, each close pressed to the other—at the frequently recurring glimpses of squalor and shabby gentility—M. Zola exploded.

'It is awful,' he said. 'You see that house, it looks fairly clean and neat in front. But there! look at the back-yard—all rubbish and poverty! One notices that again and again.' (*Academy and Literature*, October 4th, 1902.)

One of the things which housing reformers have long been calling for is that owners of all house property should be compulsorily registered, and the list made publicly accessible. We hope this will soon be done. It is surprising how often the owners of slum dwellings are found, after laborious investigation has been made, to be people whose names and professions are generally supposed to be guarantees for all that is honourable and helpful. And it is significant to note how public enquiries for the ownership of such places will make these same honourable owners in hiding wish to sell their property.

A public register of owners of all house property would be a public proclamation of responsibility, which, in many cases, would save men and women from the mean profiting out of their fellow creature's wretchedness, which is now going on under the shelter of anonymity.

Much has been said, too, of the necessity of a more secure tenure of office for Sanitary officials. The provision, however, still waits to be made, and, meanwhile, these important factors in the Housing

question have to work under disadvantages, which are needless and mischievous to the community. Few public officials have so many difficulties to contend against as these men. Opposition meets them on all sides, and not least from those who have the power to harass them in Committees, and to dismiss them by pulling the voting wires of Borough Councils. The protection now given to Medical Officers of Public Health, who have similar duties to perform, ought in common fairness to be given to Sanitary Inspectors. If such protection is not given, then the nation must endure the results of terrorism exercised upon the insecurity of its officials. It must be content to see the laws, which it has enacted, ignored in many instances or left inoperative; for no Sanitary official can habitually speak out without fear against the wrongdoing of powerful local persons unless he has the courage of a secure standing, which no political wire-pulling or private malice can overthrow.

Not that our Sanitary officials have been wanting in splendid work. All things considered they have rendered great services to the State. But they could and would do greater things in keeping down insanitary conditions in houses and factories, if their tenure of office were not at the mercy of locally elected Authorities.

Another much advocated method for dealing with the Housing problem is the provision of transit facilities. Two famous names are associated with it—Mr. Balfour, the Premier, and Sir Charles Booth, the Economist. A pamphlet from each exists on the subject.

The method has been largely tried, and London and other crowded cities are now feeling the consequent relief.

The Census of 1901 shows something of what this relief has been to the metropolis. In 1891 there were in London 172,502 one-room homes. In 1901 the number was found to have fallen to 149,524. The situation, however, is still unsatisfactory, for there are 4001 one-room homes in London having five persons in each of such homes, and there are 11,279 one-room homes having four persons in each of such homes. But the decrease has been considerable, seeing that the Census of 1891 reported 7409 of the former, and 16,111 of the latter.

While acknowledging the benefits of London's improved transit facilities, we must not shut our eyes to the drawbacks of the method. The London County Council is at this moment showing us what some of these drawbacks are. At a Board of Trade Enquiry, which

is still proceeding, it was said in evidence that the London County Council Inspectors watched on an average morning the 7.26 a.m. train from Barking to Fenchurch Street. 607 passengers were counted on the platform at Barking Station, and all proceeded by the train. At the next station—East Ham—there were 1200 passengers on the platform, but only half the number got into the train. At Upton Park there were 820 on the platform, and about 400 got into the train. When the train arrived at its destination at Fenchurch Street, it was found that 1500 people had got out of the train at that place. The proper accommodation in the train was for 910 third-class passengers and 32 first-class passengers.¹ This is the kind of thing which is common in the early morning at all the London Railway Stations.

Nor can we say that Trams are any better. The long rows of people waiting in all weathers at the termini of the city tramways at the busy times of the day, and the frantic struggling to get places, when a car draws up for loading, is one of the tragic spectacles of the metropolis. It makes one question whether our Twentieth Century civilisation is a thing to be proud of, or to weep over.

With all the centrifugal movement which the increase of transit facilities has brought to London, there has, unfortunately, been a growth of new centripetal pressure in the form of multiplied factories. This is specially observable in the poorest and most congested neighbourhoods. And the factories which seem to be able to flourish most in such districts are those which employ cheap labour, so that their advent in a slum neighbourhood is no blessing. Like the Salvation Army Shelters are said to do, and as an easy going system of out-door poor relief most certainly does, these cheap labour factories attract multitudes of distressed people, many of whom sooner or later become burdens upon the already over strained poor rates in the districts where these cheap labour firms happen to be.

We regard this pressing in of factories into the poor and over-crowded districts of London as one of the most serious of the new features, which now mark England's Housing Question. It aggravates the disease from which the Nation is suffering, and bestows no compensating benefit for the mischief it does.

The close relation between the nation's present housing conditions and the ever-growing necessity for more hospitals, infirmaries, asylums, and the like, is a matter which is not generally realized.

¹ *Daily Mirror*, November 22nd, 1904.

It has been stated by a frequent writer on housing subjects that 'nearly one in three of Londoners die in some workhouse, asylum, hospital, or public institution, as against one in five in Liverpool, and one in seven for the rest of the country.' (Mr. Robert Williams in *Daily Chronicle* of January 22nd, 1902.)

This is terribly suggestive of what the loss of real home life inflicted by our crowded domestic conditions in town and city means. It means for one thing that the Englishman is losing the old national privilege of quitting the world from his own home and in the midst of his own family. It means that England's Housing difficulties are making the act of dying a public affair. This is the cost to the individual. But there is also the cost to the State, for it is clear that if dying cannot be done at home—if nearly one-third of London's population must pass from the world within the walls of some public institution, there is but little hope of the present extraordinary demand for increased hospital and infirmary and asylum accommodation diminishing. It looks as if we must reckon upon this as a permanent feature in the situation. And so we have the mockery of the cry: '*No money from the rates for housing*' with the irony of having to pay largely from the rates for the direct results of bad housing.

We now come to the proposal enshrined in the cry, 'Back to the land'! Mr. Rider Haggard and others have long pleaded for some more adequate provision for the obtaining by the common people of 'small holdings,' on which a man and his family could settle and live.

We believe that this is one of the most effective means for helping to solve the Housing problem. The love of the land is strong in many a waif cast up by the tide from the country and flung on the gloomy shores of our city slums. And could he be given an opportunity to return to the old open-air life in field and garden with the possibility of earning the right to a small farm of his own, that type of man, in a good number of cases, would become a real help in recruiting the now diminished class of English yeomen.

But no such opportunity,—no such attraction is held out to the intelligent country labourer, whether he is still on the land or worsening in some city slum. A bill has been passed to enable the town labourer to buy his own house with the aid of a Public loan, but no such hand of help has been stretched out by the Legislature to the farm toiler.

It is encouraging, however, to learn that at the present moment the Government is taking steps to ascertain by a practical experiment what possibilities there are of increasing and improving small holders of farming land. An area of 70,000 acres in Skye has been bought at a cost of £95,000, and it is proposed by the 'Congested Districts Board,' which has the matter in hand, to administer the property chiefly for enabling the Crofter class of the locality to become more skilled, and also more able to attain to a reasonable prosperity. 'The plans of the Government for dealing with this large tract are not yet disclosed, but it may be assumed that all the land available for tillage will be broken up and divided into small holdings, and that the mountain land will be allocated to the several townships or communities to be used by the occupiers as common land for their sheep and cattle.' (Vide *Times*, November 16th, 1904.) The writer further states that a 'self-supporting holding' should consist of not less than 15 acres of good, or fairly good, arable land, besides grazing for five or six cows and 20 to 30 sheep. This, it is calculated, would suffice for a family of five persons. Each would require, in addition to the food which the farm itself could provide, an annual sum in cash of about £6 for clothing, tea, sugar, and sundries which cannot be produced on the farm.

Such in outline is the scheme of those who cry: 'Back to the land?' We believe it to be an effective and practical method of helping to solve the housing problem. And we are convinced that were some of the vast sums of money now spent every winter in finding work for the ever increasing armies of the unemployed in our cities and towns to be used for assisting suitable men to get out of the whirlpool of city life, and to permanently settle with their families on the now unproductive land, a real step forward towards deliverance from the present chaotic state of things would be made.

We have said nothing of the much pressed methods of 'a Fair Rent Court,' 'the Taxation of Ground Values,' and 'the Nationalising of the Land,'—each of which has its earnest advocates among Housing Reformers.

We do not feel able to give any one of these proposals our confidence. Each and all seem to us to involve a violent rupture of England's economic continuity as a nation. For generations it has been recognised and accepted among us that whatever 'hard cases' the principle of liberty between buyer and seller involves—it is nevertheless the right, and indeed the only practical principle on

which a free nation can transact its business. And were the nation to set up special courts, or impose special taxes on a special class, or commit itself to special purchasing of a whole element of national life, in order to correct special abuses, which individual citizens acting in their ordinary business relations with one another can put right, such a nation would soon become confused and confounded by the results of its own fussiness and short-sighted action.

No doubt there is unfairness on the part of some landlords in the matter of screwing up the rent, or in receiving from their ground property enormous increases of unearned value. All this has been held up continually to the public view. But there is another side of the matter to be looked at. There is,—as the late Duke of Argyll pointed out,—the side of ‘undeserved decrement,’ which ground landlords sometimes suffer as really as they gain by ‘unearned increment.’ And, further, in the case of great public improvements it is always possible, and is now the custom, to schedule for acquirement by Act of Parliament as much of the land, which is about to be improved, as the Municipal or State promoters of the work may deem necessary. And as for the State buying up all the Nation’s land, we have seen nothing yet in the doubtful results of Municipal ownership or Municipal trading to justify the larger experiment of making the State the one owner of land.

We are not of those who believe that England’s Housing question is mainly a problem for the State. The State, of course, must help. It can step in and enable the people to deal with abuses, which have become too powerful for the ordinary methods of civilised life. But, in the main, the Housing question in this country is a matter in which the State, acting in its official capacity, can do comparatively little. The reform in its fullest measure can only come by man learning to feel brotherly and to act fairly towards his fellow-man. And, further, the man thus affected must learn also to help himself. Humanity to man and Self-effort from man,—these are the prime elements of all social reform.

HENRY LEWIS.

REVIEWS.

Christian Character.¹ By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., D.D. It is the declared purpose of Dr. Illingworth's book to show that 'the fundamental nature of the Christian character, as exhibited by its best representatives, has always remained the same. And that character has been eventually dependent upon belief in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian creed' despite the emphasis that has been laid upon particular virtues, and the means of their attainment, which have marked the thought of successive stages in the Church's history. It is the fashion with not a few, who fail perhaps fully to realise the true significance of Christian doctrine and the comprehensive character of Christian ethics, to describe both as inadequate to modern needs. Bearing in mind the contention of such men, in many cases an honest and not infrequently a sad contention, Dr. Illingworth makes the effort in the lectures which this volume embodies, 'to recall the claim—the continuous claim—of Christianity to be the adequate guide of all human development, the adequate goal of all human desire, and this only on account of its further claim to be the divine revelation.'

It is seldom our pleasure to read a book more mature in its thought than that which Dr. Illingworth has given us. This is hardly an age which supplies the suitable atmosphere for reflection, and we feel correspondingly impressed when it is our good fortune to alight upon a book like the present, which seems to lift us above the petty quibbles of smaller men, and enables us to enjoy with quiet satisfaction the wider view of a greater mind. And the language is in harmony with the thought—rich, lucid, and stately, with a music of its own.

The thought with which the book opens is that 'life . . . is the most fundamental conception under which we can view the practical aim of Christianity; while faith and hope and love, and all other virtues and good works, are partial modes in which that life finds its inevitable issue and development.' Accepting as a true, if not exhaustive, definition of life that it is 'the dynamical condition of an organism' or the condition in which an organism can exercise its energies, the author proceeds to show that 'this dynamical condition not of a mere body or mind or will, but of a person, the condition on which a person can truly realise himself, is the condition of union with God.' Christian life then is essentially and fundamentally religious.

¹ *Christian Character. Being some Lectures on the Elements of Christian Ethics.* By J. R. Illingworth, M.A., D.D. Demy 8vo., 7/6. (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited.)

It is sometimes objected against Christianity that it places an exaggerated emphasis upon sin. That this is a baseless charge we shall best realize when we have thoroughly grasped this thought that Christian life is the condition of union with God. For it will then be clearly seen that anything which prevents that union or hinders its full enjoyment is an evil of the first magnitude, and an obstacle which must at all costs be removed. 'The conquest of sin is the first condition of human life. Sin is the disease that is killing us and it must be removed before we can live.' The thought of this necessity leads us at once to see why the atonement occupies a place in the forefront of Christian ethics. However we may attempt to explain the atonement, and the experience of history has shown us that explanations which satisfied one generation have been totally inadequate for succeeding years, yet a belief in its reality 'has persisted, without change, behind all variations of its intellectual expression . . . proving its reality, like other forces, by its manifest power in the world.'

Chapter II. is an effort to demonstrate that character is the condition of life, and at the outset we are reminded that 'since the Christian life begins with the reformation of the human will, it must begin with the individual, in his individual capacity, and not with groups or societies of men.' With regard then to the individual it is well observed that penitence, the recognition and abandonment of sin, stands at the threshold of the new Christian life into which he may enter. Kant and Spinoza, with other moralists, have maintained that 'ethical repentance, or the amendment of our will, is all that we need, and that emotion spent upon the past is wasted energy.' In replying to this assertion Dr. Illingworth goes to the root of the matter when he says that 'this might be so if sin were only the breach of an impersonal law. But behind the moral law there is, in the Christian view, a person, and a person who loves us; and sin therefore in the last analysis, is a wounding of love, and as such must, when realised, involve emotional regret.'

In the chapter on prayer we are pleased to see an attempt to meet a difficulty which we are sure has been a real one to many thinking men. The difficulty of intercessory prayer, and the inability to 'conceive how or why the action of one man's free-will should influence God's blessings of another.' We are beginning to realise that it is useless to look for more than a partial solution to those great questions which involve human free-will and divine omnipotence, but Dr. Illingworth's reflection assists us in our efforts to reach that partial solution.

'As the habit of praise intensifies our love of God, so the habit of intercession intensifies our love of man. The more we pray for our fellow-men, the more inevitably we yearn to help them; and this

yearning quickens our energies and enlarges our capacities for helpfulness, in a way and to an extent that we cannot fail to recognise as part of the answer to our prayer.'

In the closing chapter, entitled *The Supernatural*, is a passage which is called forth by a common and loose use of the term 'evolution,' according to which use 'the entire universe . . . has gradually evolved from lower and simpler forms, passing back at last into some primitive potentiality of which we have now no knowledge. Against this view, which is described as pure materialism, it is urged that

- 'Such a process as this is absolutely inconceivable, in the sense
- that it is unthinkable and meaningless. . . . On the hypothesis in question, at every fresh stage of existence something arises out of nothing, something which was not in the premises appears in the conclusion, something which had not previously existed came into existence, being arose out of nothing. And to speak in this case of the higher being potentially present in the lower is only to conceal the absence of real thought under a phrase. For we cannot think of a potentiality existing or realising itself at all, without the assistance of something other than itself and actual. . . . 'Thus, in contrast with the absolutely inconceivable process of universal evolution as above described, we can perfectly well conceive a divine reason, which is already actual, presiding over the evolutionary process, and eliciting its higher from its lower stages, as being alike the Creator of both.'

Some are offended by the simplicity of this book, which they mistake for shallowness. We are rather inclined to see in the clearness which makes a truth seem obvious, a sign of great qualities of mind, and a balanced judgment which were never more needed than in these days, when much that has the semblance of learning is devoid of its substance.

On Holy Scripture and Criticism.¹ By the Right Rev. HERBERT E. RYLE, D.D., Bishop of Winchester. The publication of sermons and addresses, delivered by so thoughtful and reverent a scholar as the present Bishop of Winchester, upon questions which are demanding the attention of Christian men with an urgency never felt before, is peculiarly opportune. Its advent will be welcomed by many, and its probable effect will be to reassure a large section of the Christian public whose minds have been filled with perplexity or shadowed by fear as they heard of critical results and speculations from sources where intellectual satisfaction was the sole aim of investigation. Dr. Ryle believes 'that the Church's steady progress upon the pathway of reason and truth is capable

¹ *On Holy Scripture and Criticism: Addresses and Sermons.* By Herbert Edward Ryle, D.D. Crown 8vo., 187 pages. 4s. 6d. Macmillan & Co.

of being combined with an attitude of unswerving loyalty and reverence towards Holy Scripture.'

This book has a peculiar value for those people, and we fear that in these days their number is legion, whose pre-occupation denies them the possibility of a systematic study of questions of even primary importance. Here they can read within the narrow compass of a few brief pages, sermons which deal with the privileges and the advantages of fearless criticism, and the subject is considered from various points of view. Each sermon is complete in itself.

In the first chapter, which contains a sermon delivered in Westminster Abbey on the 91st anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a note is struck which we can hardly too frequently emphasize :

'Our faith rests not upon opinions, old or new, right or wrong, respecting the literary structure of the Bible, but on the Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom the Scriptures testify.'

These are days in which we have noticed an extraordinary development in the triumph of science and the material progress of mankind, but no less remarkable have been the achievements of 'scientific methods of historical and of textual criticism which the scholarship of the last thirty years has perfected into weapons of unrivalled precision.' It is alike the scientific nature of the method which has been employed, and the widening range of our knowledge of the great ancient Semitic powers, which are too frequently ignored by those who fain imagine that the results of modern criticism are but 'cunningly devised fables.' In chapter two—*Criticism of Holy Scripture and the Church's Gain thereby*—we find an estimate of the value of the work which these agencies have performed, and we learn that

'each 'juster statement of truth' bids us take higher and holier ground, bids us see in the Inspiration of the Spirit the breath of life infused into—and not an outward vesture separable from—the earthly form.'

In a chapter on *Old Testament Criticism in its Bearing on Teaching* it is well affirmed that 'criticism will strengthen the teaching of Christian Apologetics. We are all familiar with the old method of attack upon Scripture: if Scripture be inspired it can contain no flaw or contradiction; nothing contrary to science or history; but the Old Testament contains such things; therefore, it is not inspired and can make no claim to be.' It is by a different method that Christian criticism defends the faith it holds so dear. It acknowledges that the credibility of the events narrated 'must be judged by the ordinary laws of historical evidence.' The historical character of our Lord's resurrection is defended by us on such grounds; on the evidence of the contemporary Gospel writers, on

the evidence of the effect produced upon the Apostles, on the evidence of St. Paul's Epistles, on the evidence of primitive Christian teaching, on the evidence of the institutions of the Church. The twelve chapters which make up this volume are full of interest and value, some going at greater length into the details of the subject which forms the motive of the book, others travelling along bye-paths and dealing with side issues, but all clear and lucid, all of peculiar worth to those who seek in simple words the objects and aims, as well as the results and tendencies of critical research.

The Gospel and Human Life.¹ The numerous friends of the late Canon AINGER, Master of the Temple, will welcome this posthumous volume of sermons from his pen. They deal with a pre-eminently practical theme, and one which we would like to see more generally discussed in pulpit and press. In the present instance the treatment is masterly, and while we may be inclined to demur at a certain vein of pessimism which runs through the series of sermons, we feel bound to acquiesce in their general conclusions. For Canon Ainger evidently deemed that human life fell far short of the Gospel ideal; and we cannot gainsay him,—his wide experience of life supports his assertions.

We can best show the general subject matter of his sermons by quoting a few of the titles. They include 'Christ before Christianity,' 'Theology and Life,' 'The Decay of Worship,' 'Gallio,' 'Christian Courtesy in the Epistle to Philemon,' 'Preaching.'

We particularly commend the chapter on 'The Decay in Public Worship.' Canon Ainger has sounded the right note and defined the real cause of this ever-increasing decay. He showed that it was 'beyond all question to the drying up of these springs necessary to the vitality of religion, that the decay of worship is to be traced.' Questions of ritual, of long or short services, of sermons, are merely of secondary importance compared to this.

"For it is an eternal truth, subject to no exception, that no custom can endure, at least without becoming corrupt, out of which the meaning and the force it sprang from have departed."

"The decay of worship means the decay of the conviction that we want something, vital to our lives as spiritual beings—something which God alone can give us, and which He requires that we shall obtain from Him alone, through a spiritual communion. 'Ask and ye shall receive.' . . . The necessity of asking in order that we may receive, this it is that is becoming one of the lost truths of the Bible."

¹ *The Gospel and Human Life.* Sermons by Alfred Ainger, M.A., LL.D., late Master of the Temple. Edited, with preface by Canon Beeching. Crown 8vo., 6s. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

This is all too true, and the question that rises uppermost in our minds is: How shall we stem this ebbing tide? How bring back men to feel their need of Christ 'as the satisfier of men's wants, the healer of their woes, the Saviour from their sins, the one source of their conquest over death?' Here we have an all-important problem that cries for speedy solution if we would ultimately be spared the sight of a virtually Christless land. Let us hope the tide will soon turn, and the nation be led once more to a sense of dependence on God.

This book has been carefully edited by Canon Beeching, of Westminster, and forms one of the most useful collections of sermons for the present day that we have recently read. We note it is placed among the first five best religious books of the year by the opinion of a plebiscite of the readers of the *Review of Reviews*.

The Christian Opportunity.¹ Being Sermons and Speeches delivered in America by the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. There are few English Churchmen who have not followed with a sympathetic interest the recent visit of our Primate to America. It has helped to quicken those brotherly feelings between the two great Anglo-Saxon races in the Old and New Worlds, whose growth has been a matter of widespread satisfaction. Many who were curious to know the purport of the speeches and sermons which signalized the Archbishop's visit to the great centres of life in Canada and America may have their curiosity gratified by reading the sermons which this book contains. Needless to say there is occasional repetition. The fact that the addresses were delivered to separate audiences, under very similar conditions, and with no view to ultimate publication, readily explains the similar features which the various sermons present.

Of the towns in which these speeches were delivered Quebec stands first, being the point at which Dr. Davidson landed after his journey from England; while the last four were addressed to various audiences at Boston. Between these are sundry sermons in the leading towns of the Dominion and the States. It is little wonder that as representative of a Church in the Old World whose traditions extend through the centuries into the hazy past, where the great names of a by-gone age link it, in bonds for ever dear, to the earliest Christian Church, his spirit is stirred and his imagination quickened as he stands upon the threshold of the Younger World, whose future is great with promise and with hope. And yet one Cathedral at least in which he preached was of no sudden growth, and within its

¹ *The Christian Opportunity*. By Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury. Crown 8vo., 200 pages. 3s. 6d. net. (Macmillan & Co., Limited.)

walls are grouped the clustered memories of a hundred years. It was the Church built by George III., at Quebec, in 1804, and in his first address on Canadian soil the Archbishop refers to its rich and honoured past.

We are not surprised that his sermon preached in Trinity Church, New York, bears marks of the impress which the ceaseless activity of the great city had made upon his mind. The peculiar thought which strikes him, as the result of the quick rush of life's stream in this the centre of the New World, is the terrible ease with which individual lives may be swallowed up and submerged in its surging waters. And his special message to the Church of New York is one which emphasizes the responsibility resting upon every follower of Jesus Christ to assist in seeking and saving the lost. It is a great city more than other places which adds to the ranks of those whom we are pleased to call the 'abandoned,' and the Archbishop forcibly reminds us of our duty, when he remarks: 'Abandoned by whom? By those whose Christian fellowship should long ago have made abandonment of any sort impossible.'

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

COLLEGE AND ORDINATION ADDRESSES. By FORBES ROBINSON, M.A. 3s. 6d. Longmans, Green & Co.

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MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1903.

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Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. I.

MARCH, 1905.

No. 3.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Physical Features of the Holy Land.

Only those who have had the singular good fortune to read Professor George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, can at all appreciate the wonderful illumination which a study of the physical features of Palestine can throw upon every page of Jewish Sacred Literature. The book is long; but the type is good, the maps are excellent, and the interest aroused by the graphic narrative is never suffered to flag: it is one of the few volumes of its length which one reads from the first page to the last and longs for more. It assists us more clearly to understand the movements of history: it explains the ebb and flow of power in different tribes and towns, by showing their relation to the shifting currents, which flowed along the leading lines of communication,—now sweeping commerce and wealth past their doors, and again flinging against them the armies of the conqueror. It helps to indicate the cause of those peculiarities of character which arose in different parts of Palestine. A true view of the evil influences to which the northern tribes were subject, enables us the better

to understand the weakness of their character and the ruin in which they were soon involved; and when we rightly appreciate the sterner life in the highlands of Judæa, which was remote from corrupting intercourse with the peoples of the plains and lay apart from the pathway of the hosts of Egypt and Assyria, we shall not wonder that its inhabitants learnt lessons which were destined to prove of untold blessing to the human race. Some of the scenes that it conjures up live long in our memory. As we close our eyes we can enjoy again the quiet beauty of Samaria, *the crown of pride of Ephraim, the flower of his glorious beauty which is on the head of the fat valley*.¹ Or we can stand upon the crest of Mount Carmel and look across a wonderland of blue sea and golden strand, of fertile plains with their waving corn and stately palms, of a hillside rich with vineyards and olive groves; and our eyes travel on past the plain of Esdraelon, past Tabor and the oak-clad hills of Upper Galilee, to rest where the crest of Mount Hermon glistens amid eternal snow. To those who are denied the pleasures of a tour in Palestine we would commend this book, where scenes of the Holy Land have been interpreted, and are seen through the eyes of a man equipped with a well trained mind and an artistic sense.

The Highways of Bible Times.

Woven into the narrative of Professor Adam Smith's attractive book is an interesting description of the highways of Palestine, those great arteries of the land through which coursed the busy streams of the nation's life, or along which, at less happy times, the terrible hosts of a foreign foe swept with a desolating flood. Dealing more exclusively with this special aspect of Bible lands are two valuable articles in Dr. Hastings' extra volume of the *Bible Dictionary*, where Professor Frantz Buhl writes on *Roads and Travel in the Old Testament*, and Professor Ramsay deals with a similar subject in the New.

¹ See Isaiah xxviii. 1.

In a unique sense Palestine lay at the centre of the ancient world; the desert on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west, compressed within the narrow limits of her land the great roads which join the northern civilisations to the south. Egypt, Arabia, Babylonia, Assyria, and the ports which fringed the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, had highways traversing the Holy Land.

From Egypt there were two main tracks to Palestine, one ran inland by the wells of Beersheba, and another of which we oftener hear crept by the marsh lands and sand dunes which bordered the sea. Along the latter road the vigorous Sargon scattered the Egyptian hosts which met him near the town of Raphia. Further to the north it passed by the five cities of Philistia—Gaza built on a low hill, Ashkelon the town of trade, Ashdod with its mighty fortresses, and beyond them the cities of Ekron and Gath.

Conquerors or travellers who journeyed from Assyria, from Babylonia, or from the Syrian regions of the north, might enter Palestine by three main routes. One lay along the coast and from the region of Antioch ran southward through Beirut, Sidon and Tyre. A single barrier had opposed the early engineers who laid this road, and it is interesting to learn how long ago the obstacle was removed. North of Beirut a promontory projects into the sea and round its base a ledge is cut. The work must have been performed in pre-Israelitish days, for an ancient figure of Ramses II. is carved upon the solid stone.

Running far to the north of Palestine, and parallél to the coast, is a valley similar to that in which the Dead Sea, the Jordan, and the Lake of Galilee lie. Through this valley two rivers flow; the Leontes dashing fiercely southwards and westwards to the sea, and the Orontes on its longer course towards the north refreshing the cities of Riblah and Emesa, Hamath and Antioch. Along their winding course lay the second road to Palestine, with the towering peaks of Lebanon on the right and Hermon to the left. This was the oldest road

from the Euphrates lands, and here the hosts of Pharaoh Necho, after the defeat of Josiah at Megiddo, hastened with eager expectations to meet the armies of Nebuchadrezzar, and along this very way they returned discomfited, when the battle of Carchemish had shattered their hopes and robbed their king of all his Syrian lands.

The third road from the land of the Euphrates entered Palestine through the ancient city of Damascus, where it branched for the remainder of its course into three alternative routes. The northernmost of these winds along the desert plain to the south of Mount Hermon and passing through the city of Dan, or Laish, enables the traveller to reach the seaports of Tyre or Sidon, or the highlands of Galilee. Another road which started along a similar track branches finally to the south, and strikes the river Jordan between the waters of Merom and the Lake of Gennesaret and thence conducts the traveller to all parts of Palestine, or beyond to the land of Egypt. This is the famous *Way of the Sea* of which we read in Isa. viii. The third road crossed the valley of the Jordan to the south of Galilee and led up through Bethshan 'the key of Western Palestine' to the plain of Jezreel and the hills of Samaria.

The Purpose of Travel in Old Testament Days.

Professor Buhl in the latter half of his paper investigates the motives which led the Israelites to encounter the dangers and face the hardships which awaited the travellers of those early days. Pleasure, curiosity, or scientific interest it could not be, and a stern necessity alone can explain their expeditions. Fear prompted Jacob's flight, and his master's charge led Eliezer the Damascene to the distant land. But in addition to these occasional or incidental expeditions there were other more frequent and regular calls which prompted men to move from place to place. Religious festivals summoned the pious worshippers from far and near to the leading sanctuary, and in later days gathered them to the temple at Jerusalem. Singly or in bands they would flock along the public roads.

In the earlier days of the national life the pursuits of commerce were despised, and few were led on this account to leave their homes. But by Solomon's day old scruples began to yield to the force of circumstance, and the wise king sent his buyers to purchase horses from adjoining states, while in Ahab's reign a colony of Jewish merchants were granted special favours at Damascus by Ben-hadad, its king.

The existence of a state which was surrounded on every hand by other and often mightier races would depend in no small degree upon the skill of its diplomatists, and constant embassies would pass from court to court. A final motive for travel was the terrible love of war and plunder which caused the bands of pirates or the hosts of the mightier monarchs to fill the land with anguish and distress.

It was in many such ways as these that the ideas of one people spread to the next, and the traditions which had been jealously guarded by a particular race would not be unfamiliar in the regions where its merchants sought their merchandise, and its warriors fought their wars.

Archæology.

There was a time, and it is not many decades since, when archæology had attractions only for a small band of enthusiasts who were looked upon by the average man with pity, if not contempt. This idea is being slowly banished from our midst, and thus the youngest among sciences is now treated with more respect than it used to command. And yet our ignorance and our carelessness are yearly working havoc, for which no gold can compensate. Every land has its treasures which speak with eloquent voices of the past: if our hearts were attuned to their tone they would bring to us a new and deeply human interest. They speak a language which is music to those who have grown familiar with its accents. These treasures from bygone years are no dead things; they are the concrete forms which embody the souls of men whose names

have long been lost in the oblivion of centuries. And yet we are careless of our wealth. Like the man whom Bunyan pictures raking the mire when he might seize the crown, we spend our labour for that which is nought, and let the higher human interests slip from our grasp.

We remember a visit we once paid to a beautiful abbey in the south, and noted, among the treasures which it contained, an elaborate figure of a knight, beautiful and dignified in its simplicity. As we looked closer we were rudely shocked to see the mutilations wrought by the idle hand of a despicable man, who had deeply carved his name on the marble nose of the recumbent knight. To some the sense of utter incongruity may give a ludicrous turn to the incident: to us it is one of the most pitiful sights we have had the misfortune to see. Slight in comparison was the ruthless destruction of the temples of Alexandria, and slight the ruins which the troops of Cromwell wrought among the choice things of our own land. Those mutilations were prompted by an all absorbing-passion; they were the work of earnest men, and we can admire the zeal while we deplore the form it took. But in this paltry act of which we speak we have the fruit of a frivolous and callous mind, and we are in a straight between indignation at an act so wanton and pity for a man so void of every sense of reverence.

But while we condemn this man, do we not ourselves stand convicted of conduct which in essence is not dissimilar? Our judgment blames him for the thing he has done; is it not possible that a future age will reproach us for the things we have left undone? We are suffering the opportunities, which our wide-spreading empire affords, to slip slowly but surely away. We make our boast in the Bible we received from another age, and for lack of a paltry annual sum we reject the offer of greater light to illumine its page. The works of discovery in Egypt and Palestine languish for funds, and we stand by unmoved. There is but one rift in this dark cloud; the work which falls from our listless hands is eagerly seized

by men of other nationality and foreign blood: the prize of which we reckon ourselves unworthy they are at hand to cherish and bequeath to a grateful posterity.

Dr. Grenfell, whose labours have recently roused our interest, tells us that the work in the Græco-Roman branch of the Society for Egyptian Exploration, which resulted recently in the discovery of the *New Sayings of Jesus*, must shortly cease. America has founded her own Society, and the help she has rendered for so many years now goes to maintain her own explorations. The effect of these causes is seen in the melancholy balance sheet of the Egyptian Exploration Fund for 1904, when the expenditure was £3,084 11s. 11d., while the totally inadequate income was £1,806 16s. 9d.

Nor is the lack of funds the only source of uneasiness. Other charges are brought by those who ought to know. It is a matter on which we are not competent to judge, and we can only quote some hot words from the speech made by Prof. Flinders Petrie at the annual meeting of the Egyptian Exploration Fund.

The serious question for us is how soon the great interest felt in such work, which has been so largely supported by the public, can lead to the remaining problems of the country being opened to our research; how soon the supremacy of Mammon in the management of that land may leave a little opening for the higher interests of thought, how soon political intrigue may cease to hinder scientific investigation.¹

"Methods and Aims in Archæology."

Professor Petrie has written a delightful and timely little book on *Methods and Aims in Archæology*. It will be readily understood by the layman in matters of research, and will prove of more than ordinary use as a guide to those whose duty and privilege lead them to active work in the field. The

¹ *The Times*, November 12th, 1904.

book is intensely practical, and presents the archæologist as a man of many parts: a skilful engineer, a shrewd man of affairs, an acute observer, an accomplished linguist, and a man of cultured mind. Added to all these qualities he must have a passion for the study of history and a refined imagination.

There are some who affect a smile at the warmth, and at what they choose to call the exaggeration of some of the Professor's paragraphs; but we see no pertinence in the strictures of these unimaginative critics. They are of those who see only so much canvas and pigment in the painter's masterpiece, or who gaze on the ruins of Rome or Greece unmoved. In the very warmth of the passages they judge, we see the motive that has prompted the labours for which another age will show more gratitude than we. It is in these chapters that we see the pursuit of archæology lit up with a warm and attractive light. It is here an attempt is made to analyze the fascination of the past and discover its source in an intense love of life—a love which makes us cling 'to the life of our 'ancestors, their being and their natures; and beyond that to 'the fascination of all history, as being the continuity of life, the 'ever-shifting changes of the one great chain which we see 'around us at its present stage, and of which we form a part.' The man who thinks like this 'lives in all time; the ages are his, 'all live alike to him,' and to his eyes nothing is common or unclean. A beneficent influence makes living richer

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
(We) summon up remembrance of things past.

The lessons we learn rebuke the vanity of our pursuits and bestow a power intensely practical to help us as we face the manifold turns and twists of the life in which our present lot is cast. In the deeper passion for our race which it begets; in the wiser service for our fellows to which it points; in the expanded hope and the enlightened mind we have at once the justification and the reward for archæological pursuits.

MODERN CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. THE TRIAL OF FAITH IN THE PROGRESS OF THOUGHT.

Each age has trials of faith which come to it through the progress of thought and the advance of knowledge. Upon each successive generation is laid the task of adapting its interpretation of the Bible to the growing knowledge of the time; and in an age when new methods of investigation and new modes of thought are affecting all our studies, changes, and startling changes, are inevitable in regard to our conceptions of the character of the Bible. Loyalty to fresh light is not less a duty than loyalty to our inheritance from the past. The education of the world goes on apace, and unless Theology can keep in touch with it, it must renounce its claim to be the Queen of Sciences, and then religion must inevitably suffer. Forcible repression of freedom of thought must foster superstition or scepticism, and in the end it is compelled to acknowledge its defeat. The study of the Bible cannot be isolated from the influence of contemporary methods of study and modes of thought.

History abounds in warnings. 'Luther denounced Copernicus as an arrogant fool who wrote in defiance of Scripture, and Melancthon urged the suppression of such mischievous doctrines by the secular power.' The terrors of the Inquisition were invoked to silence Galileo. But Astronomy triumphed. Not half a century ago Geology was supposed to be antagonistic to religion, and it is only by slow degrees that we have come to see that Scripture and Science cannot be at variance, because Scripture was never intended to teach Science, and must be interpreted in accordance with the established results of Science. We can now listen with equanimity to a science which

postulates enormous periods for the development of the earth, and thinks that man may have existed on it for 50,000 or even 100,000 years.

II. FORCES INFLUENCING THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

There are two forces at work at the present day, compelling us to revise many of our traditional ideas with regard to the Old Testament: (a) modern methods of examining historical and literary documents; (b) the doctrine of development. Shall we attempt to crush them by denunciation? If the methods of investigation and the principles of thought are sound and scientific, the attempt, as experience shows, is foredoomed to failure. Let me quote the opinion of an eminent living historian in regard to them, and first in regard to the examination of documents. In his recent inaugural lecture Professor Bury, Lord Acton's successor at Cambridge in the chair of Modern History, spoke of 'the revolution which is slowly and silently progressing' in historical studies. Before the beginning of the last-century the study of history was, as a rule, not scientific. But 'erudition has now been supplanted by scientific method.' It was 'not a historian but a philologist' who 'gave a powerful stimulus to the introduction of critical methods which are now universally applied. Six years before the eighteenth century closed, a modest book appeared at Halle, of which it is perhaps hardly a grave exaggeration to say that it is one of half-a-dozen which in the last three hundred years have exercised most effective influence upon thought. The work I mean is Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*. It launched upon the world a new engine—*donum exitiale Minervæ*—which was soon to menace the walls of many a secure citadel. It gave historians the idea of a systematic and minute method of analysing their sources, which soon developed into the microscopic criticism, now recognised as indispensable.'

Let me call another witness in the same department of study. In his excellent handbook on *The Study of Ecclesiastical History* Professor Collins, now Bishop of Gibraltar, writes:—

‘The next step that the student must undertake is *the examination of the documents* which he has obtained. He must take them one by one and examine and appraise them as carefully as he can. Is this a faithful text or is it corrupt? Is it really the work of the author to whom it is ascribed? Was he a contemporary witness? If not, when did he live? When did he write? What were his opportunities of knowing the facts? Was he biassed, and if so, in what direction? Did he write with a purpose, and if so, with what purpose? What can be learned on these points from internal and what from external evidence? And do the conclusions agree to which these two respectively lead? Such are the questions which must be asked with regard to each document; and the answers to these questions, so far as they can be ascertained, must henceforward be borne constantly in mind in dealing with the document concerned.’

These methods have been applied to the books of the Bible, and these questions have been asked concerning them. We cannot isolate the study of the Bible and refuse to submit it to the processes which are freely applied to all literature and all historical documents. Its sacred character cannot exempt it from such inquiries. We believe it to be inspired; but we have no right to assume *a priori* that inspiration would render such investigations superfluous or profane: and the most elementary acquaintance with a few simple facts shews the untenableness of such an assumption.

We can no longer approach the study of the Old Testament with a belief in the absolute integrity of the text. In the 17th century there were scholars who went so far as to maintain the inspiration and absolute accuracy of even the vowel points of the Massoretic Text, but the simplest application of the principles of textual criticism demonstrates the impossibility of such a hypothesis. There are traditions of date and authorship received from the Jewish Church and long regarded as authoritative, which cannot be upheld when they are tested by internal evidence. Books and groups of books supposed to have been

written by a single author are seen to be compilations from sources differing widely in character, and some books contain the plainest indications of a date at variance with the traditional attribution.

If two accounts of the same event are inconsistent, we are compelled to endeavour to form a judgment which is the most trustworthy, and to explain how the discrepancy is to be accounted for.

Whatever difficulties may be raised, these questions must be investigated patiently, thoroughly, dispassionately. We must not be alarmed if we find the same phenomena meeting us in our sacred documents which we find in secular writings. In so far as the cases are parallel, they must be dealt with in the same way.

III. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM THE BOOK OF SAMUEL OF THE COMPILATORY ORIGIN OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

Let us take a simple illustration of the compilatory character of the historical books. In Chapters viii. to xii. of the First Book of Samuel two independent accounts of the election of Saul to be king are combined. One is contained in Chapters ix., x. 1-16, xi.; the other in Chapters vii., viii., x. 17-27, xii. In the first, Samuel appears as a seer who may be consulted for advice in cases of difficulty, but famous apparently only in his own neighbourhood. In the second, Samuel is the Judge of Israel who goes on circuit from place to place over a considerable district. According to the first account, Israel is oppressed by the Philistines; their cry has come up to Jehovah, and He has determined to send them a deliverer. According to the second, the Philistines have been repulsed by the Israelites under Samuel's leadership; the demand for a king comes from the people, who are discontented with the misgovernment of Samuel's sons; and it is condemned as a virtual rejection of Jehovah's sovereignty.

According to the first account Saul is brought to Samuel by a chain of providential circumstances, privately anointed by him, and directed to await his opportunity, which comes shortly

afterwards when the men of Jabesh send round to their countrymen in the hope of finding allies to save them from the brutality of Nahash. According to the second account, Saul is chosen by lot in a public assembly of the nation at Mizpah and takes over the government when Samuel lays down his office in a touching farewell address to the people.

Now in the light of modern principles of discrimination of sources, it is clear that we have here two different accounts of the establishment of the monarchy, derived from different sources and pieced together by a compiler, who, according to the method of oriental historiographers and mediæval chroniclers, compiled this history by combining the documents or traditions to which he had access, instead of digesting their contents, and writing an entirely fresh narrative. He does not study logical consistency, or attempt to remove the discrepancies, save by some few editorial additions, which serve to some extent to unite the narratives and to conceal their mutual inconsistency. We may attempt to reconcile the narratives; it is possible that if we had all the facts before us we could do so: but is it not better frankly to acknowledge that we have here two accounts of the establishment of the monarchy, written from different points of view? The first account gives an ancient tradition of the origin of the monarchy in the urgent need of Israel for a deliverer. From one point of view the monarchy was necessary in order to weld the tribes together and enable them to shew a united front to their enemies. In view of the actual circumstances of the nation, it was God's will that Israel should have a king. The second account contains a later prophetic reflection on the establishment of the monarchy. From this point of view it was wrong for Israel to wish for a king. It was a declension from the ideal of theocracy, the direct government of the nation by Jehovah. This reflection, instead of being thrown into the form of an abstract discussion, was expressed in the concrete form of an historical narrative. The compiler combined the two narratives, leaving his readers to draw the lessons. On the one hand

the establishment of the monarchy was an evidence of God's care for his people. Saul was divinely raised up and divinely appointed. On the other hand the desire of the Israelites for a king, 'that they might be like other nations,' was an indication of distrust of God and failure to rise to the height of their peculiar position as a nation distinct from the nations of the world. Each of the accounts presents an idea which it is important we should grasp in order to have a true view of the course and meaning of the history of Israel. It may be that the first and older narrative is true historically in the narrower sense of agreement with the facts as they actually happened; while the second and later narrative is equally true historically in the wider sense of a true comment on the facts in the light of the ideal Divine purpose. That the ideal as well as the actual should be expressed in the form of a narrative is due to the 'realising' genius of the Hebrew mind, I mean its tendency to embody ideas in a concrete historical form.

IV. AN EXAMPLE OF THE ABANDONMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORSHIP OF A BOOK.

Literary traditions must be tested by internal evidence, and if internal evidence clearly contradicts the traditions of an uncritical age, they must give way before it. The most obvious instance is the latter part of the book of Isaiah. If Isaiah xl.-xlviii. (I do not include chapters xlix.-lxvi. because they present greater difficulties) had come down to us as a detached and anonymous prophecy, we could have had no hesitation in dating it in the closing years of the Babylonian Exile, when Cyrus had already embarked on his career of conquest, but before Babylon had opened its gates to him. Internal evidence is often precarious and inconclusive, but in this particular case the cumulative weight of the arguments from historical allusions, literary style, and theological contents, tells irresistibly against the authorship and age of Isaiah, and in favour of the age of the Exile. The significance of the prophecy gains enormously by the transference, and our knowledge of the circumstances of the exiles is largely extended.

V. ARGUMENTS URGED AGAINST THE LEGITIMACY
OF CRITICISM.

There are two arguments urged against the legitimacy and the validity of Criticism, about which I wish to say a few words. They are the arguments of (a) novelty and (b) authority.

(a) It is not uncommonly urged that critical views of the Old Testament are untrustworthy, because they are new. They are spoken of as 'unproved hypotheses, resting on no further proof than was available to all the scholars of the past nineteen centuries.' The argument is one which would condemn all progress. Why was not the heliocentric theory of the solar system discovered before Copernicus? Why had so many great discoveries and inventions to wait till the nineteenth century? Were not human brains as fertile in earlier ages? But here is what a recognised authority on the study of History tells us :—

‘Many centuries and whole eras of brilliant civilisation had to pass away before the first dawn of criticism was visible among the most intellectual peoples in the world. Neither the orientals nor the middle ages ever formed a definite conception of it. Up to our own days there have been enlightened men who, in employing documents for the purpose of writing history, have neglected the most elementary precautions, and unconsciously assumed false generalisations. For criticism is antagonistic to the normal bent of the mind.’¹

The critical spirit is, you see, a modern instrument even in its application to history generally. But further, it must be remembered that until quite recent times the study of the Bible was pursued under the domination of a rigid theory of verbal inspiration. It is only within the last thirty or forty years that we have broken loose from its trammels and realised that it is inconsistent with facts, and that the truth of the Gospel is not dependent upon it.

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to Study of History*, p. 68.

(b) A second and more serious argument against the legitimacy of criticism is that of the authority of the New Testament. Our Lord Himself, it is urged, sanctioned what may be called the 'traditional' view of the Old Testament, and, by implication at any rate, condemned the critical view. I fully recognise that here we enter on difficult and delicate ground. I have the greatest respect for those who shrink from anything which seems to detract from our Lord's authority. But in condescending to become Incarnate as a Jew at a particular epoch in a particular country, our Lord necessarily accepted conditions and limitations of time and place. Doubtless in virtue of the universality of His humanity He transcended those conditions, so that He is equally in sympathy with every age and every race. But He must speak and teach in Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine. He must use the terminology of the time in regard to physical phenomena. Must He not have used it in regard to the Old Testament? The questions which are raised by modern criticism were not before Him, any more than the questions which are raised by modern science.

I would ask anyone who feels the difficulty, to examine very carefully what is the nature and extent of the New Testament use and endorsement of the Old Testament. What is it that our Lord and His Apostles guarantee? Our Lord certainly taught that the Old Testament Scriptures in their three-fold division of Law, Prophets, and Writings, testified of Him. By their use of the Old Testament Scriptures, not less than by actual statement, the Apostles showed that they believed them to be profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness. But the freedom with which they quoted them, and the simple fact that they generally made use of the Septuagint Version, show that it is the general spirit and drift of the teaching of the Old Testament which is endorsed and not every fact or statement therein contained. No one now would maintain that because Evangelists and Apostles for the most part use the Septuagint they therefore endorse all the blunders of that Version. While I believe most

firmly that the New Testament recognises the Old Testament, as 'an essential part of the Christian Bible,' I cannot believe that its interpretation is to be limited by what was known or was possible in the Apostolic age.

VI. THE DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT.

I can only speak most briefly of the second force which I mentioned as affecting our study of the Old Testament—the doctrine of development. 'The world is not yet alive,' writes Professor Bury in the Inaugural Lecture to which I have already referred, 'to the full importance of the transformation of history (as part of a wider transformation) which is being brought about by the doctrine of development.' Nowhere, perhaps, has this idea of gradual, orderly development, of continuous evolution, had more influence than in remodelling our conceptions of the course of Old Testament History and the growth of Old Testament religion. But it may be urged that the acknowledgment of evolution in the history of the Old Testament leads to mere naturalism, and the denial of the reality of revelation. 'Is the ethical code of the Bible complete and final and perfect?' asks Blatchford in *God and my Neighbour* (p. 19). 'No. The ethical code of the Bible gradually develops and improves. Had it been divine it would have been perfect from the first. It is because it is human that it develops. As the prophets and the poets of the Jews grew wiser and gentler and more enlightened, so the revelation of God grew wiser and gentler with men. Now, God would know from the beginning; but men would have to learn. Therefore the Bible writings would appear to be human and not divine.' Such language sounds plausible perhaps to the class to which it is addressed. I pass over the astounding assumptions upon which it is based. But when we look at the history of that evolution, and mark how religion progressed by and in spite of a constant conflict between the higher and lower tendencies in the nation, we are compelled to ask, What was the power that taught Israel? What made Israel differ from the surrounding nations closely

related to it, and speaking almost an identical language? What kept Israel from being absorbed by the Canaanites, who were superior to them in strength and more advanced in civilisation? The Christian answer is the true one: that the progress recorded in the Old Testament is not merely an inevitable evolution of human thought, a natural advance in knowledge and morality, but an evolution of human thought and an advance in knowledge and morality under the constraint of a Divine discipline and the education of a progressive revelation. The claim of the leaders and prophets of Israel to be representatives and spokesmen of God was not baseless. It is attested by the results which terminate in the Incarnation and Christianity.

In History as in Nature, the recognition of evolution, development, gives a surer and clearer conception of the Divine method of working, but does not exclude it.

VII. CRITICISM A MEANS NOT AN END IN ITSELF.

Critical methods are a means not an end. Their object is to provide the material for rightly understanding documents, for constructing history and formulating theology. But many critics work as though the restoration of texts, the determination of their dates, and the analysis of their sources, were the final object of their labours. It is useful work, it is attractive work, but it is not the highest work. What we want to know is, by what steps and in what ways God revealed His will to ancient Israel, prepared the way for the Incarnation, laid deeply and surely the foundation upon which the Catholic Church was to be built. And so when I find in the Introduction to the Book of Samuel in one commentary (Nowack) twelve pages devoted to the examination of sources and origin, and but three pages to *Significance for the History of Religion*; in another (H. P. Smith) fourteen pages given to the *Composition of the Book* and only three and a half pages to *Religious Ideas*; in a third (Löhr Thenius) fifty-six pages occupied with *Literary Criticism*, twenty-five pages with *Textual Criticism*, and not one given to the consideration of the place of the book in the history and

development of Old Testament religion, I feel that there is a want of proportion, and that in his enthusiasm for new methods, the critic is liable to forget that after all they are but the means, and that the more difficult work of synthesis and interpretation is the real aim of the commentator and the theologian.

Again, it is doubtless easy to exaggerate the application of the principle of development. The late Dr. A. B. Davidson was a master of Old Testament Theology, and this is what his friend and editor, Dr. Salmond, gives as his opinion.¹

‘He had an increasing distrust of ambitious attempts to fix the date of every separate piece of the Hebrew literature, and link the ideas in their several measures of immaturity and maturity with the writings as thus arranged. He became more and more convinced that there was no solid basis for such confident chronological dispositions of the writings and juxtapositions of the beliefs. In his judgment the only result of endeavours of this kind was to give an entirely fictitious view of the ideas, in their relative degrees of definiteness, the times at which they emerged or came to certainty, and the causes that worked to their origin and development. The most that we had scientific warrant to do, in view of the materials available for the purpose, was, in his opinion, to take the history in large tracts and the literature in a few broad divisions, and study the beliefs and the deliverances in connection with these.’

VIII. THE APOSTOLIC BIBLE SUFFICIENT FOR ITS PURPOSE.

Dr. Davidson’s words lead up to the thoughts with which I wish to conclude. On the one hand, it must never be forgotten that the Old Testament as it stands was the Apostolic Bible, which is commended to us for our study. I am content to believe that the composition, editing, and collection of the books which it contains were divinely controlled in order to adapt it for its purpose, to shew us God working in the world, to furnish spiritual light and comfort to the Church for all time.

¹ Pref. to Davidson’s *Old Testament Theology*, p. 6.

I accept it as 'inspired,' though I do not venture to define the nature and limits of inspiration.

On the other hand, I cannot doubt that the Old Testament must be interpreted in successive ages by the help of all new light and knowledge which God gives mankind. The great fundamental truths remain the same: our comprehension of the stages and methods by which God revealed them may change. Criticism may enable us to understand the stages of revelation better, to trace the growth of religious thought more exactly, but the great truths are the really important matter. The light and heat and attraction of the sun are facts, independent of theories as to the origin and composition of the sun and the action of gravitation. Only, the truths must not be affirmed or expounded in such a way as to contradict what criticism can demonstrate with a reasonable degree of probability.

The critic no doubt often forgets the true purpose of the Old Testament and the authority by which it has been accredited to us.

The anti-critic, on the other hand, too often assumes that the Bible is what it never claims to be, infallibly accurate in all matters of fact and science. He will have all or nothing. I tremble when I read such words as these: 'If the Gospels are not inspired in the strictest sense in which theologians speak of inspiration, these records (viz., of our Lord's discourses) are worthless':¹ or when I find defenders of the faith making the perilous assumption that we must proceed on the old traditional lines, or else abandon the foundations of the Gospel and the sanction of its message for the redemption of mankind.

Courage, not cowardice, is the true child of faith; boldness, not bigotry, is the best bulwark of the truth.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

¹ Anderson, *The Bible and Modern Criticism*, p. 18.

THE GROWTH OF CREEDS.

I.

A creed is a confession of faith, and therefore the word may be applied as well to the Confession of Augsburg or the Thirty-nine Articles as to the repentant and exultant Confession of St. Thomas—‘My Lord and my God’—and to the Confession of the Church assembled at Nicæa. Reformation Confessions, such as the first named, must be regarded as temporary and local, and therefore cannot have the same interest as the œcumenical creeds. There is a second reason for neglecting them in this paper. They bear upon them the stamp of manufacture. The same thing may be said of many of the theological creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries, and we shall equally neglect all such.

PRIMITIVE CONFESSIONS.

Of the rest, every adoring confession of faith, such as that of St. Thomas, has a personalness and an intensity too simple and sacred to allow of discussion. That leaves for our consideration the fixed creed-forms of early Christianity. In spite of the set phrases of these creeds, they retain the freshness of the primitive days. What that quality is we can best see from a liturgical form in which it is more evidently present—the *Kyrie eleison*—Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy. With regard to it, Bishop Dowden writes :—‘It carries ‘with it the unmistakable characteristics of primitive spontaneity, ‘directness and simplicity. How impossible it is by any effort ‘of imagination to conceive a commission of modern divines, ‘say a committee of Convocation, sitting round a table with ‘their sheets of foolscap, blotting paper and quill pens, and devising the *Kyrie eleison.*’ Creeds are not emotional utterances, and therefore this intensity is not to be expected, but in certain of them there is a like spontaneity. It is felt by those who sing the *Te Deum* and hardly recognise that they are reciting one of the creeds : and that same spirit of triumph

breathes in the rythmical sentences of the psalm *Quicumque Vult*, incorrectly called the Athanasian Creed and unfortunately known by many who have never read it as a sort of dry, hard malediction. It can, however, only belong to those which *grew* with the Christian Church. Controversy, hot and bitter, may have preceded and influenced their phrases, but they were not baked in that oven nor kneaded into shape by angry theologians. They may be intellectual or theological, but just as the theologian can retain in his heart the simplicity of a child before God, so the mature creeds of Christendom may deal with subjects that are not simple and yet retain a remarkable freshness of spirit.

We select as being typical, and as being the best known, the three great creeds, known as the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed, though in each case the name gives a mistaken idea of the origin of the creed. And if we are to try and denote their characteristics by single words we might call the first Historical, the second Theological, and the third Dogmatical. But this division, like many others which we make for convenience, is too distinct. The Apostles' Creed is almost as theological as the Nicene Creed. It is impossible to have the historical presentment apart from the theological, and the theological is only one stage in the necessary progress towards the dogmatical.

THE HISTORIC FAITH.

We start with history. Philsophers tell us that history is a very uncertain thing: it is discounted: it is full of inaccuracies. However we must start with history and claim some facts, the main outline of the Christian tradition, or we shall utterly misunderstand the attitude of mind of those who first uttered the creeds. They are all included in the one fact of Jesus Christ,

And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought.

'We have heard, we have seen with our eyes, our hands

handled,' says the writer who in his gospel, as well as in his first epistle, calls Christ the Word: yet he writes an account of the life of Christ so strongly reflective and theological that to many his gospel is not history. Must we say because 'the beloved disciple' saw in his Master what not all men who read the gospels are forced to see, and because his belief and reflection strongly colour his recollections, that therefore his gospel is not historical? Accounts may be more or less historical—so we say, meaning that the writer may detach himself more or less from the object before his mind, and may set himself to picture things as on the outside they appear to the casual observer rather than to shew the whole truth as it appears to him. But it is doubtful whether it is possible to set down the most ordinary facts of life without *some* implicit interpretation of them. It is certain that the most important facts of history, persons, cannot be retained in the memories of succeeding generations except through the interpretation of their character, their work, their influence, made by contemporaries. In the case of most historical characters, for all practical purposes of life, the dispute might be left to the historians, but in the case of Jesus it is not and never will be. If the Person be unique his true character and power will be attested in a unique manner—unceasingly in the present as well as once in the past.

THE CREED OF CREEDS.

Thus the simple germ of the creeds, the creed of creeds, is a Person as He made Himself known to those nearest to Him. The presentment is now more historical and less theological, now more theological and less historical. Every year added something to a fuller appreciation of the meaning of that life. There is no reason why that process should ever cease in the Christian Church: but thoughtful and reverent students of the New Testament will generally be forced to the conclusion that no one under the limitations of human life can rise to a more vivid and lofty realisation of what Christ *is* than did St. John and St. Paul.

Professor Harnack, in a great passage of his *History of Dogma*, remarks how obscure to the historian proper is the origin of a series of the most important Christian customs and ideas : 'but,' he continues, 'the greatest problem is Christology . . . in its deepest roots as it was preached by Paul as the principle of a new life (II. Cor. v. 17), and it was to many besides him the expression of a personal union with the exalted Christ (Rev. ii. 3). But this problem exists only for the historian who considers things only from the outside, or seeks for objective proofs. Behind and in the Gospel stands the Person of Jesus Christ who mastered men's hearts, and constrained them to yield themselves to Him as His own, and in whom they found their God. Theology attempted to describe in a very uncertain and feeble outline what the mind and heart had grasped. Yet it testifies of a new life which, like all higher life, was kindled by a Person and could only be maintained by connection with that Person. "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." "I live, yet not I, but Christ, liveth in me." These convictions are not dogmas and have no history, and they can only be propagated in the manner described by Paul (Gal. i. 15, 16).' Among all the bonds of the 'unity of spirit,' this consciousness and these convictions were the strongest. The Church was one principally because its members knew that they were Christians. There was 'one Lord, one faith.' 'One baptism' made this unity something definite. It did this partly by admission to a visible society, and partly by the definite teaching concerning the 'one Lord, one faith,' which accompanied it. The instruction dealt with the life of Jesus Christ, with Christian morality and Christian doctrine.

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.

The preface of the Gospel according to St. Luke shows us that converts to Christianity were carefully taught the tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus. The Gospel professes to be a fuller and more critical account of the things recounted in the 'catechism' or oral instruction of the catechumen or candidate for baptism. There may have been more ways than we are

aware of for a dissemination of a knowledge of the history of Jesus. It is possible that Apollos gained his first knowledge from a very early gospel ; or he may have been taught by some who had been influenced in the first days of our Lord's ministry and saw no further. We know that he appeared in the synagogue at Ephesus and 'spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John.' Two Jewish Christians present, Aquila and Priscilla, 'took him unto them and expounded the way of God more carefully.' Here the context suggests fuller teaching about the life of Jesus and instruction in doctrine, at least about Christian Baptism.

Going outside the limits of the New Testament, we have an interesting book called the *Didache*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The date generally accepted for it is about 100 A.D. The first half of it is an instruction in morality, based upon the Sermon on the Mount. The second part is a manual on prayer, fasting and the sacraments. It begins thus:—'And concerning baptism, baptize ye thus. Having first declared 'all these things, baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Here the instruction contemplated is what is contained in the first part—morality. But that alone, we may feel sure, was not the rule except among some Jewish Christians. We get a different idea as we read the description given by the converted philosopher, Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, to the emperor Antoninus Pius. 'As many as are persuaded that the things are true which are taught by us and said to be true, and promise that they can live accordingly—they are taught to pray and to ask of God with fasting forgiveness of their former sins, and we pray and fast together with them. . . . In the name of God the Father and Lord of the Universe and of our Saviour Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost do they then receive the washing of water.' History and morality and worship are here plainly referred to in general terms. But can we doubt that where the Trinitarian formula of baptism was used there was also simple instruction about the name ?

THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA.

How far back does that formula go? It occurs at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel and is there ascribed to our Lord. Those who assert that such is the true origin of the words have a strong case, but yet the *balance* of the evidence is against it. There is nearly the same authority for saying that the first gospel has undergone one transformation as for ascribing it to St. Matthew as its original author. It is one of the most assured results of a conservative criticism that the change was something much greater than translation. It is very possible that even after the Gospel appeared in Greek it was again re-edited. Add further that we never read in the New Testament of the use of the Trinitarian formula, but of baptism into the name of Jesus Christ or the Lord Jesus, and that this simpler form lasted on with the other into the third century, and we have considerations of such weight as to turn the balance against the general traditional opinion. The question must be discussed purely as a literary and historical one. It does not affect religious belief. Earlier than the earliest date that can be suggested for St. Matthew's Gospel St. Paul wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians concluding with the words, 'The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.'

The Trinitarian formula of baptism must have won its way to general acceptance in the third quarter of the first century. If we accept that then we shall look for a developed creed in the New Testament with less expectation of finding it than if we thought that the words came directly from our Lord; for the baptismal creeds of Christendom were built up round that formula. And Mr. Burn in his *Introduction to the Creeds* has shewn good reason for thinking that the only creed which we can discover in the New Testament is the simple baptismal confession, 'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God.'

H. D. LOCKETT.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SIGN OF THE GADARENE SWINE.

It is more than fifteen years ago that Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley discussed in the *Nineteenth Century* the miracle of the 'Gadarene swine.' Huxley selected it as a crucial instance for the trial of the Gospels to which we owe our knowledge of the character of our Lord. Huxley disbelieved in demoniacal possession, but he also drew attention to the question of the injury inflicted by the destruction of the swine, because the injury was due to our Lord's permission. 'The Evangelist,' he said, 'has no inkling of the legal and moral difficulties of the case,' and the devils entered into the swine 'to the great loss and damage of the innocent Gerasene or Gadarene pig-owners.'

In his reply to this statement, Gladstone began by misconceiving Huxley's argument. 'So then,' he exclaimed with a fine rhetorical flourish, 'after eighteen centuries of worship offered to our Lord by the most cultivated, the most developed, and the most progressive portion of the human race, it has been reserved to a scientific inquirer to discover that three of the four writers, through whom His life has been recorded for us, formally assign to Him acts which make Him no better than a law-breaker and an evil doer.'

Huxley pointed out quite justly (and Gladstone accepted the correction) that his censure was on the narrative not on the person. He had no intention of 'undermining the morality' of Jesus of Nazareth, but he considered that such a narrative destroyed the authority of the Synoptic Gospels. The censure is founded on the threefold supposition that the event took place at Gadara; that Gadara was as much a Gentile city as Ptolemais; and that the herdsmen were presumably Gentiles, yet were, if we accept the narrative, lawlessly deprived of their property.

The miracle of the Gadarene swine is to the reflective mind a very peculiar one. It offers the only occasion on which our Lord exercised, or co-operated in the exercise, of supernatural power for the destruction of life. Gladstone set aside the consideration that the Lord is 'the Lord to kill, as well as to make alive, according to His wisdom,' as hardly suited to an argument against the negative school, who are plainly entitled to raise the question of the swine as it affects the right of property. 'Why, then, does our Lord in this instance see cause to vary from the philanthropic and 'beneficent tendencies, which usually mark His miraculous 'agency? It has been observed that the entrance into the 'swine may have been permitted, in order to certify the 'relieved man, or men, of the reality of the great and hardly 'credible deliverance vouchsafed in their persons to human 'suffering. And again, that the willing departure of the 'demons may have spared the victim or victims from the 'tortures, which it is natural to suppose would have attended 'their violent ejection. Yet something more seems to be 'desirable in order to meet the question that has just been raised. 'I find the answer to it in the reasonable, and (as it seems to 'me) almost necessary supposition, that the possession of 'swine was unlawful, and, therefore, was justly punishable by 'the ensuing loss.'¹

Gladstone, accordingly, laboured to show, relying mainly on the evidence of Josephus, that Gadara was not a Gentile city, but subject to the Mosaic law as the civil law of the country. By the Mosaic law swine-owning was forbidden to Israelites. In the parable, the prodigal son is sent into the fields 'to feed swine.' The far-off country, to which he has betaken himself, is so different from his own home that the citizens are swine owners, and he has to obtain, by sheer refusal to be dismissed, the wretched office of a swine-herd, the pay of which in carob pods is not sufficient to keep him from starvation. To Jewish ears such details would indicate the full extent

¹ W. E. Gladstone: *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture.*

of the prodigal's degradation, as well as misery. It was forbidden even to touch the carcass of a swine. And this prohibition of course precluded all use whatever of the animals when dead; and it was only for use when dead that there could be any object in keeping them at all.

If, then, these Gadarenes were under the obligation of the Mosaic law, their offence, according to contemporary ideas, would be a very grave one, and the punishment which our Lord permitted to fall upon them in every way justifiable. At the end of the discussion Gladstone conceived that he had shown 'that to suppose the swineherds to have been punished by Christ for pursuing a calling which to them was an innocent one is to run counter to every law of reasonable historical interpretation.'

It cannot be pretended that Gladstone has settled the question. In any informal conversation upon the subject of miracles, the cursing of the fig-tree and the destruction of the Gadarene swine are almost sure to be mentioned. Some matter-of-fact layman or cleric generally asks 'What do you make of the Gadarene pigs?' and if any answer is given he is not commonly satisfied with it. Perhaps it is due to a failure of the historic sense or an inability to think on the lines of a former civilisation, but the fact remains that the Gadarene swine are a stumbling-block.

'A Churchgoer' in the diary recently published¹ considers the miracle an instance of 'petulance.' He looks upon the cursing of the fig-tree and the destruction of the swine as 'flaws in Christ's character.' The clergy are sometimes accused of being strangely ignorant of the real thoughts of the average layman who 'sits under them,' but I can hardly bring myself to believe that there are many 'average laymen' who have with 'Churchgoer' gone a step further than Huxley, and used the 'Gadarene Swine' as an argument, not against the authenticity and authority of the Synoptic Gospels, but against the person of our Divine Lord. For this use of the Gadarene Swine is very far-reaching; it discredits Christ even

¹ *The Diary of a Churchgoer.* Macmillan & Co.

as a human Teacher, while to think of miraculous power as placed in the hands of a person who uses it 'petulantly' is inexpressibly distressing to any devout mind.

Men fail to understand the meaning of this miracle for the same reason that they fail to understand other miracles. Moreover the sceptics of to-day are in a precisely similar condition to the sceptics of our Lord's day. After our Lord had shewn the people the great sign of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, they said, 'Shew us a sign that we may see and believe Thee.' They were sceptical of His character and claims because they did not read His signs.

The great name for a miracle is 'Sign.' In these days this cannot be too frequently or emphatically asserted. St. John uses no other.¹ With his marvellously sympathetic insight and almost divine intuition he seized upon the essential character of all our Lord's miracles—that they were 'signs.' Excluding the twenty-first chapter of his Gospel he records seven of them; these 'seven,' of course, were selected, and, equally of course, were completely representative of all signs. Now the children at our elementary schools are not as a rule introduced to the Gospel of St. John; the syllabus of the University Local Examination rarely contains the Gospel of St. John. And even if it were a common subject of study, the Authorised Version has obscured all real understanding of the St. John 'Signs' by translating σημεῖον, 'miracle.' If you tell quite a small child that a thing is a 'sign' he will naturally ask 'What of?', and the mere introduction of the name would bring a salutary reform in the modes of regarding miracles.²

For if one once looks at miracles as signs, one is led away from the obvious result of the miraculous working to the truth that lies behind it. And the obvious result of miraculous working is the least important to consider. I have not forgotten that 'wonders' were also instrumental in drawing people's

¹ St. John iv. 48. Here, indeed, τέρατα is used, but clearly as a name for 'miracles' from a lower aspect.

² For a fuller discussion of the general subject see an article by the author, entitled 'Miracles as Signs,' in the *Expository Times*.

attention to the Person of our Lord, and that wonders do perform that office now; but no one can be said to have advanced in the spirit of wisdom who has not passed beyond the 'wonder' and contemplated the 'sign.'

Take, for example, the sign of the restoration of sight to the blind man in St. John ix. Without, for one moment, trying to minimise the importance of bodily sight to one human being, can it be said that any thoughtful person would be satisfied with this exercise of miraculous power, if the immediate result were the sole purpose for which that miraculous power were exercised? It may be answered that men were led to regard our Lord as a Divine Person, or, at any rate, a Person endowed with a supernatural power of doing good. 'Others said, These are not the sayings of one possessed with a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?' So far good, but our Lord Himself, as St. John tells us, would have us go farther and read in the sign of the Healing of the Blind the great truth that He is the 'Light of the World,' and that that Light is available for every human soul.

One more example from St. John before we apply this consideration to the miracle of the Gadarene swine. The great declarations about His signs are introduced by our Lord with the words 'I am,' recalling the ancient name of Jehovah, the name that witnessed to His eternal presence. When He came to the disciples walking upon the sea, He said, 'I am; be not afraid.' It is a sign of the eternal, abiding presence of Christ with those who believe on Him. He walks on the sea; He is with them when they are distressed and full of anxiety—no phantom bringing fear, but a dear familiar Presence with a voice of human speech, 'I am; be not afraid.'

When we regard the miracle of the Gadarene Swine as a 'sign' the actual destruction of the swine becomes of little importance. If the consideration of the beneficent result of restored sight sinks into comparative insignificance when we read the sign of the Healing of the Blind as a sign of Christ the 'Light of the World,' surely this death of the swine will

not occupy our attention, provided only that there is a great spiritual truth behind the sign. For every day pigs are slaughtered to feed men's bodies, to subserve men's bodily needs. Is there not a more cogent reason for the slaughter of pigs, if such slaughter promotes man's spiritual welfare?

Our Lord taught the existence of a personal spirit of evil ; our own experience corroborates His teaching. To resist this spirit of evil is the duty of every Christian. If a man fails to resist the Devil, and the Devil takes *possession* of him, then a swift and awful destruction will be the inevitable result. The Sons of Thunder wished Him to call down fire from heaven on the *men* who would not receive Him ; He rather chose to show the effects of evil spirits in the infra-human creation.

And what sign more telling and impressive could there be than the sight of this herd hurling themselves down the steep to perish in the waters? Let the man who is giving way to evil thoughts and desires reflect upon the sign of the Gadarene swine. It is the great warning sign of the Gospel.

A. ALLEN BROCKINGTON.

THE GOSPEL MIRACLES.

III. THEIR EVIDENCE AND PURPOSE.

In the previous papers an attempt was made to show that miracles are not impossible, and that, consequently, they may be 'subjects of testimony.' We tried to show, that is, that the occurrence of a miracle can be proved if adequate testimony in its support is produced. We also discussed at some length the question which then necessarily arises as to the amount and character of the evidence which may reasonably be regarded as 'adequate,' as sufficient, that is, to prove the historical character of an alleged miracle.

We saw, on the one hand, that many of the miracles recorded in secular and ecclesiastical history are obviously fabulous and that, this being the case, before accepting a miracle on the authority of any document, careful enquiry must be made as to the date, authorship, and general historical value of that document. Many of the miracles narrated by the ancient historians, and possibly some of the Old Testament miracles, occurred, if at all, centuries before they were recorded in the documents we possess, and in recording them the authors probably had to rely simply upon popular oral tradition, which is notoriously untrustworthy. In such cases the historical value of the evidence is extremely small.

We saw, on the other hand, that God governs the universe by uniform laws and that a recognition of the general uniformity of nature raises a presumption against the probability of miracles; and that, consequently, miracles are not likely to happen unless there is some special reason for their occurrence. Many of the ecclesiastical miracles seem entirely purposeless and devoid of meaning: they would appear to have no object save that of favouring or supporting some particular party or sect in the

Church, or, possibly, of enhancing the reputation of some local saint. Miracles such as these are instinctively felt to be unhistorical, because it seems inconceivable that God should work a miracle, that He should deviate from His ordinary course of action as we see it revealed in the order of nature, for such an inadequate end: they are, in fact, intrinsically improbable.

Thus, when we come to examine the gospel miracles and to ask whether they really happened, we approach the subject with certain presuppositions. On the one hand, we believe that miracles are possible and that, therefore, their occurrence can be established by testimony, but, on the other hand, we feel that miracles are improbable, and that, therefore, no miracle should be accepted as an historical fact unless, first, it is supported by strong and reliable evidence, and unless, secondly, it seems for some reason or other to be inherently probable. Thus in the case of every alleged miracle two questions must be asked—Is the evidence good?—Is the miracle itself in view of its apparent purpose and result probable?—and it is our object in this paper to apply these two tests to the gospel miracles and to mention, very briefly, a few, though only a few, of the more obvious facts which must be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the purpose of these miracles and the value of the evidence in their support.

The positive evidence in favour of the Gospel miracles is particularly strong. We have, first of all, the Epistles of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles, which, as we saw in the last paper, make it quite certain that during the Apostolic age—between the years 50 and 80 A.D.—it was generally believed that Jesus had worked miracles.

Secondly, there are the Gospels themselves, and in them we have evidence of the greatest value, both direct and indirect. The indirect evidence is to be found in the accounts of the Temptation given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, which prove conclusively that our Lord, from the beginning of His ministry, was conscious of the possession of supernatural powers. The

facts may be stated as follows.¹ The accounts are undoubtedly genuine for they obviously cannot be ascribed to the imagination of the evangelists.² There was no tradition that the Messiah should be tempted, and thus there would be nothing to suggest to the evangelists the idea of a temptation. But even if this were not the case, even if we could think that the whole idea might conceivably have been invented, it seems impossible to believe that it would then have taken the form in which it appears in the Gospels. To many of the early Christians the whole narrative must have seemed strangely unintelligible, the actual temptations offered to our Lord being so entirely different from those which ordinary men have to encounter, and from those which are usually to be found in the legendary stories of the temptations of the saints. Thus the peculiar character of the narrative is an additional guarantee of its authenticity. It is certain, then, that the narrative is genuine, and that it has a foundation in fact, and, if so, the whole account must, of course, have come ultimately from our Lord Himself.

How, then, are we to understand it? It is not perhaps necessary to accept the account as a literal statement of historic fact, as meaning that Jesus was really and literally taken by the devil to an exceeding high mountain and there saw, stretched out before Him, all the kingdoms of the world, or that He really stood upon the pinnacle of the Temple and was challenged to prove His divinity by casting Himself down. The whole account is probably symbolical.³ It is a sort of parable, and it is this for the same reason, doubtless, that so much of our Lord's teaching took the form of parable (Without a parable spake He not unto them. Mark iv. 34);—because it was only through parables and symbols that the disciples were able to

¹ The whole of the argument, which follows, as to the importance of the Temptation narrative as indirect evidence for the Gospel miracles, was suggested by Dr. Sanday's article on Jesus Christ, in Hastings' *Dictionary*, Vol. II., pp. 612 and 626.

² 'If there is anything certain in history, it is that the story of the Temptation has a real foundation in fact, for the simple reason that without such a foundation it would have occurred to no one to invent it.' Sanday, *op. cit.* p. 626.

³ Cf. Dr. Sanday, Article on Jesus Christ, Hastings' *Dictionary*, Vol. II., p. 612 :—'The narratives of the Temptation are upon the face of them symbolical.'

receive and apprehend Christ's revelation of Himself and of the Father.

We may suppose, then, that the narrative is a symbolical account of some *real* Temptation endured by our Lord, of some real struggle which He actually underwent, and we must try to interpret the 'parable' and see what its meaning is. May it not have been that our Lord was conscious of the fact that He possessed supernatural powers, the power of working miracles, and that the Temptation took the form of a struggle in His human soul as to the way in which He was to use these powers? Was He to turn the stones into bread? Was He, that is, to use these powers for self-preservation? The answer was, No, and thus it was that He did not summon to His aid the legions of angels, but permitted the Jews to arrest Him and put Him to death. Was He to cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple? Was He, that is, to compel men to worship Him by performing some great sign which would convince the world of His divinity. Again the answer was, No, and thus it was that when an evil and adulterous generation asked for a sign, no sign was given. Was He to fall down and worship Satan, and thus win for Himself the kingdoms of the earth? Was He, that is, to seek to establish that political and earthly kingdom which the Jews expected the Messiah to establish, instead of that spiritual and heavenly kingdom—the Kingdom of God which cometh not with observation—which He had come to preach in accordance with the Father's will? And here again the answer was, No, and it was just because our Lord refused to abandon the purpose of God, and to accommodate Himself to the designs of man, that the Jews rejected Him as an imposter and demanded His crucifixion.

Viewed in this light the account of the Temptation seems intelligible and full of meaning. It fits in exactly with the character of Jesus as we see it now, and it is in accordance with what we believe to have been the method of the Incarnation. When we examine the miracles recorded in the Gospels, we see that throughout His life our Lord strictly observed

these three principles as to the exercise of His supernatural powers, and that in all cases the element of self-preservation, of mere display, and of self-assertion is eliminated from them. And we can see, though we cannot fully understand it, that the Temptation must have involved a real struggle in the soul of Jesus—a struggle in some sort, perhaps, like that which He endured on the eve of the Passion in the garden of Gethsemane.

If this be a true interpretation of the narrative of the Temptation, it follows that Jesus believed throughout His life that He possessed the power of working miracles. Was this belief true or false? Which is more probable—that He did possess this supernatural power, or that He was mistaken in thinking that He possessed it? The Christian, at any rate, can have no difficulty in answering this question.

We may, then, regard these two facts as certain: first, that throughout His life Jesus believed that He *could* work miracles; and, secondly, that from the earliest times it was generally believed that He *did* work miracles. We must now proceed to consider the direct evidence of the Gospels themselves.

The whole tendency of the literary criticism of the New Testament during the last fifty years has undoubtedly been to confirm the value of the first three (the Synoptic) Gospels and to show their real importance as historical documents. It is now admitted by critics of every school, on purely critical grounds, that the Synoptic Gospels are of early date, and are very nearly contemporary with the events they record,¹ and there are certain theories as to their origin and authorship which most critics are agreed in accepting. Thus the second Gospel is thought to have been written at Rome by St. Mark, and to be a personal reminiscence of St. Peter's preaching to

¹ Cf. Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, 1893. 'The great mass of the narrative in the first three Gospels took its shape before the destruction of Jerusalem—*i.e.*, within less than forty years of the events' (p. 283). 'We may rest assured that the whole process of the composition of our first three Gospels . . . must be comprised within limits, of which the furthest is not later than the year 80 A.D. (pp. 293-4).

the converts in that city. It is generally believed, also, that our first Evangelist, in compiling his Gospel, made use of two sources; first, these notes of St. Mark on Peter's preaching, and, secondly, a number of the sayings of our Lord which had been collected and recorded in a Hebrew Gospel by the Apostle Matthew: and that St. Luke, in writing the third Gospel, had at his disposal, in addition to these two sources, a third, which many think he obtained from one of that little band of 'holy women' who ministered unto our Lord.¹ It will be seen, then, that almost all the facts narrated in the Synoptic Gospels were derived, ultimately, from those who were actually eye-witnesses of the greater part of our Lord's ministry.²

It is, of course, quite impossible to consider here the rather complicated question of the relative value of these different sources and of the use made of them by our Evangelists. It will have to suffice merely to mention one or two conclusions, bearing upon the question of the credibility of the miracle narratives, which follow if we accept the generally received opinions of modern critics (which we have just summarised) as to the date and authorship of the Synoptic Gospels.

In the first place the Gospels are of an early date and, in the majority of cases, the narratives they contain can ultimately be traced back to an Apostolic source. It follows, then, that it is quite impossible to 'explain away' the miracles by saying that the events never really happened, and that the narratives are simply the mythical and legendary additions of a later age to the simple story of Christ's life. This was what Strauss tried to do. He maintained that after our Lord's death all sorts of legends and stories gradually and almost unconsciously became associated with His name in popular oral tradition, and that, in course of time, these took concrete form and were

¹ Cf. Luke viii. 2, 3, and xxiv. 10.

² If we divide the Synoptic Gospels into sections, it will be seen that almost every section can be assigned to one or other of the three sources mentioned above—the Markan source, the 'Logia' of Matthew, and the Lukan special source—though there are a few sections which probably come from some other sources. The historical value of these additional sources is differently estimated by different critics.

then embodied in the Gospel history. On this hypothesis it was comparatively easy to explain away such a miracle as that of the feeding of the five thousand. The multitudes had really all brought food with them in their baskets, and seeing the Lord and His disciples begin to eat, they followed His example, and took food for themselves out of their own baskets. Or else, others arrived, quite unexpectedly, bringing large quantities of food, which they proceeded to distribute among the multitudes. Even more fanciful than this is the suggestion of Matthew Arnold. 'The story of the feeding of the thousands,' he says,¹ 'may well have had its rise in the suspension, the 'comparative extinction, of hunger and thirst during hours of 'rapt interest and intense mental excitement. In such hours a 'trifling sustenance, which would commonly serve for but a 'few, will suffice for many. Rumour and imagination make 'and add details and swell the thing into a miracle.'

Theories such as these, however, necessarily demand a late origin and a non-apostolic authorship of the Gospels. 'It ever,' Strauss himself admitted, 'the historical character of the 'Gospels be conceded, it will be impossible to eliminate 'miracles from the life of Christ.' Thus his theory, whatever plausibility it might possess when the Gospels were thought to be based simply upon popular oral tradition, and to have been written late in the second century, is without doubt quite incompatible with the conclusions of modern criticism.

In the second place criticism has, on the whole, confirmed the traditional view as to the authorship of the Synoptic Gospels. The statements contained in them are seen to have been derived, directly or indirectly, from Mark, the companion of Peter, from Luke, the companion of Paul, from the Apostles Matthew and Peter, and also, possibly, from one of the women who followed our Lord, perhaps, as Dr. Sanday thinks, from Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward. This being the case, the main facts of the Gospel history, including the

¹ *God and the Bible*, p. 55.

miracles which form an inseparable part of it,¹ are recorded, indirectly, at any rate, on the authority of eye-witnesses who possess the two chief qualifications which are demanded of competent testimony—capacity and integrity.

First, they possess the capacity. The accounts of the miracles are derived ultimately from those who were in a position to *know* whether the alleged events really happened or not. They were present when the events are supposed to have occurred and they could not possibly make a mistake on such plain matters of fact. The feeding of the five thousand, for example, is narrated in all four Gospels, and critics, as we have said, refer Mark's account to the preaching of St. Peter. Now, obviously, Peter must have known whether the multitudes were miraculously fed or not, and in relating the incident to the Christians at Rome he must have been deliberately saying what he knew to be true, or what he knew to be false. There is no alternative; having been an eye-witness he could not have supposed that a miracle took place if nothing of the sort really occurred. Thus modern criticism excludes the hypothesis of unconscious error: if there is any mistake, it is deliberate.

But, secondly, a critical study of the Gospels convinces us of the integrity of both the Apostles and the Evangelists. The Apostles are plain and honest men. The Evangelists, especially St. Luke,² are careful historians: they tell the story of Christ's life simply and frankly: they write with no dogmatic purpose or 'tendency' and they narrate just what they believe to be true. Consequently we cannot explain away the miracles by saying that the Evangelists are wilfully trying to deceive their readers and make them believe in the reality of events which they know to be fictitious and imaginary. Thus modern criticism, as it excludes the hypothesis of unconscious error, excludes, also, that of deliberate deception.

¹ In the first paper we divided miracles into two classes—natural miracles, and 'miraculous' miracles. Miracles of both classes are recorded not only in each of the Synoptic Gospels, but also in each of the three sources of which the Gospels are composed. Thus, so far as external evidence goes, the miraculous miracles are as well attested as the natural miracles.

² See Prologue to the Third Gospel (verses 1—4).

It seems quite certain, then, that we can rely on both the capacity and the integrity of those who bear witness to the miracles of Jesus. They record what they believe to be true, and they were in a position to know what was true; of their evidence we can say 'He that hath seen hath borne witness and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe.' (John xix. 35, R.V.)

But in considering the evidence for the Gospel miracles we must take into account not merely the general historical value of the Gospels, but also one or two prominent characteristics of the miracle narratives which seem to stamp them as undoubtedly genuine. No one who reads the Gospels with any care can fail to notice the somewhat peculiar attitude which our Lord, according to the Synoptic account, adopts towards miracles in general. His frequent injunctions of secrecy to those who have been healed,¹ His refusals to perform miracles, His rebukes to those who ask for signs; all these, which to our Lord's contemporaries must have seemed unintelligible and meaningless, when viewed in the light of what has been said above as to the real meaning of the Temptation, accord so well with our conceptions of Christ's methods of fulfilling His mission, that it is impossible to believe that the whole picture, so 'beautifully real,' so harmonious in all its details, and yet so different from what one might have expected—it is impossible to believe that it can be the invention of the simple Galilean peasants who followed our Lord.

One cannot help noticing, moreover, that the miraculous element is not unduly prominent in the Gospels. We are told, incidentally, that our Lord worked numerous miracles, that time after time many that were sick or possessed of devils were brought to Him and healed, and yet it is only in comparatively few cases that details are given. Chorazin and Bethsaida are cursed for their unbelief despite the many mighty works performed there, yet no account of these is given. Now this

¹ See the very interesting article on this subject by Dr. Sanday, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1904.

reserve, this restraint in the narration of miracles, is a mark of the general trustworthiness of the miracle narratives. Many miracles were attributed to our Lord by popular tradition, but the Evangelists, where they do not know the details, carefully abstain from invention. 'These general accounts of wholesale cures taken along with the comparative paucity of individual accounts create a strong impression of historical fidelity. Men not severely bent on adhering to fact would have been tempted either to suppress the general reports or to multiply the individual reports. Because they were honest men they have done neither.'¹

Again, it is important to observe that no miracles are ascribed to John the Baptist. It is sometimes argued that even if our Lord had not really performed miracles, it would be only natural to expect that the Gospel history would abound with miraculous stories, since it was the tendency of the age to set the lives of all its great men in a framework of miracles. Thus Matthew Arnold, who, of course, did not believe that the Gospel miracles happened, says:—'The people who saw Jesus were as certain to seek for miracles *and to find them* as the people who lived a generation or two later, or as the people who resort to Lourdes or La Salette now.'² If this be the case, why is it that we are expressly told that John the Baptist 'did no sign,'³ for he was believed to be a prophet and a man 'sent from God'? The answer is quite obvious. It is because the Evangelists are recording facts and not inventing fictions.

Lastly, the testimony of the Gospels is strikingly frank. At Nazareth, according to St. Mark, Jesus could do no miracles, because of their unbelief. Such a statement as this is genuine beyond a doubt. It cannot possibly have been invented by the Evangelist, for the very idea that, under certain circumstances, Jesus was unable to perform miracles, must have presented many difficulties both to him and to his contemporaries, including, probably, the writer of the first Gospel.⁴ The statement then

¹ Bruce. *Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, p. 124.

² *God and the Bible*, p. 384. The italics are the present writer's.

³ John x. 41.

⁴ Cf. Mark vi. 5, with Matt. xiii. 58.

is genuine and it implies that though our Lord could work no miracles at Nazareth, He could and did work them elsewhere.

There is therefore a very considerable amount of evidence to show that Jesus Christ performed miracles, and this evidence is found, upon careful examination, to be of a thoroughly reliable character. It is better, no doubt, for some miracles than for others, but, speaking quite generally, we may say that if any evidence can prove the miraculous, the evidence we have in support of the Gospel miracles will prove their occurrence. It would be almost impossible to obtain, for any events which are alleged to have happened so long ago, more satisfactory evidence than we have for the Gospel miracles. Of the Resurrection, Bishop Westcott says—‘There is no single historical event better or more variously supported than the Resurrection of Christ. Nothing but the antecedent assumption that it must be false could have suggested the idea of deficiency in the proof of it.’¹

The evidence then is good. But are the miracles themselves probable? Does there seem to have been an adequate reason for their performance? Can we say that, as regards both their purpose and their result, they were ‘worthy’ of God, or that God is likely to have produced such phenomena, differing from those which occur in the ordinary course of nature, for such a purpose and with such a result?

In considering these questions we must not view the Gospel miracles simply as so many wonderful events recorded in one or two documents of doubtful value, for the miracles are an essential part of historical Christianity, and consequently they must be viewed as such and not simply as isolated phenomena. The Christian, that is, must discuss the question of the probability of the Gospel miracles from the Christian standpoint. Now the Christian believes in a Personal God who cares for man and holds communion with him. He believes that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and that His whole life on earth was a miracle, as being an extraordinary intervention of the Deity in the order of nature. He understands—though

¹ *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 115.

only inadequately and imperfectly—the purpose of this miracle. He believes that the Son of God was Incarnate to save man from his sin and to enable him to realise his destiny, to live the life for which he was created. He sees that this was a purpose ‘worthy’ of the God of Love and in the history of the Church and in the effects of Christianity upon the individual Christian and upon the whole human race, he sees a result which also was ‘worthy’ of God. To the Christian, in short, the doctrine of the Incarnation commends itself as essentially rational, and the fact of the Incarnation commends itself, *a priori*, as inherently probable. ‘There is nothing contrary to reason in supposing that God should produce an unusual spiritual effect for an adequate spiritual end: and when we reflect on all that Christianity has done, and is still doing, for the human race it is impossible to deny that its introduction was an adequate spiritual end.’¹

But granted the Incarnation, the Gospel miracles become antecedently probable. The Christian believes that the religion he professes contains a revelation from God to man. Now the Gospel miracles form an essential part of that revelation, for they reveal, as words never could, the infinite Love and the infinite Power of God. He who wept at the grave of Lazarus, He who had compassion on the widow of Nain, was the Son of God, and had the Power and the Will to relieve the sufferings of those whom He loved and to turn their sorrow into joy. The miracles teach ‘by obvious implication one momentous blessed truth, the infinite importance of man, body and soul, in God’s sight: of man in any circumstances, and in the worst samples, destitute, diseased, depraved. This doctrine concerning man, taught by deeds more than by words, is one of the most distinctive in the Christian revelation. It is the complement of the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood so prominent in the teaching of Jesus; and these two together form the foundation of the Christian theory of the Universe.’²

¹ Illingworth *Reason and Revelation*, p. 163.

² Bruce *Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, p. 303.

But the Gospel miracles do not merely form a part of the Christian revelation : they are also of value as evidence for and as proofs of the divine claims made by Jesus. The more one studies the history of the Church the more obvious does it become that, from the earliest days down to our own time, miracles have played an important part in creating and confirming belief in the Divinity of Christ. To us, perhaps, the miracles may seem to have but little evidential value, yet it is an indisputable historical fact that in the time of our Lord and in the days of the early Church, this was not the case. 'The works which the Father hath given me to accomplish,' says our Lord after healing the lame man at the pool of Bethesda (John v. 36), 'the very works that I do, bear witness to me that the Father sent me.' 'Many,' we are told by St. John himself (John ii. 23), 'believed on His name, beholding His signs which He did.' It would appear, then, that the miracles have a definite place and a definite function in the development of the Christian religion. 'These things,' says the author of the Fourth Gospel, 'are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His name' (xx. 31), and the history of the Church shows us how that object has been realised.

Thus, when we consider the great part which the miracles of Christ have actually played in the history of our religion, both as evidence for and as an integral part of the revelation which Jesus came to bring, both as confirming belief in the uniqueness of His Person, and as revealing His love and care for men, it would seem that there was an adequate reason for their performance, and that they were, in very truth, worthy of God.

The Gospel miracles, then, are not only supported by first rate evidence, but are, in themselves, intrinsically probable. This being the case, granted that miracles are possible and that their occurrence may be established by testimony, the Christian should have little difficulty in believing that, as a matter of fact, the Gospel miracles did really happen.

RICHARD BROOK.

THE TELL EL AMARNA TABLETS,
AND
THE LESSONS THEY TEACH.

Although frequent reference has been made to the Tell el Amarna tablets and they have formed the basis of many important arguments, one does not excessively err in asserting that to the great majority of people who are asked to give credence to the arguments and accept the conclusions, the idea which the mention of those tablets conveys is of the haziest and dimmest description. Since this is the case, no further apology is needed for a paper which endeavours to reproduce their main features and estimate their significance.

A journey along the Nile for one hundred and eighty miles to the south of Cairo brings the traveller to the site of an ancient palace. The name of the palace is Tell el Amarna and the name of the king who built it was Amenhotep IV., whose reign lay somewhere between the years B.C. 1383-1365.

Amenhotep IV. was the son and successor of the energetic and religiously minded king, Amenhotep III. The temples at Luxor and Karnak, on the site of Thebes, the old capital of Egypt, owed their erection to the earlier king's munificence, and it was he who caused the imposing statues called the Colossi of Memnon to be reared on the western bank of the Nile in front of his newly-built and magnificent temple. There on the sandy shores of the great river, silent and solemn, contemptuous of changing fashions and restless days, they have remained immovable while the centuries have crept slowly away.

Amenhotep III. was a mere boy of sixteen when the burden of government fell on his shoulders, but he was a daring youth and grew to be an able king. Before he had reigned ten

years he is said to have killed one hundred lions with his own right hand. At the age of twenty-six he took to himself a wife. It was no uncommon custom in those days for kings to seek their brides abroad and when Amenhoteb married the sister of the King of Mitani, the northern part of Mesopotamia, a kingdom which bordered the banks of the river Euphrates, he had the good fortune to secure as his queen a woman of attractive personality and brilliant parts.

Amenhoteb IV. was the son of his father's Egyptian wife. The world has seldom seen a more fanatically-minded religious reformer than the young king. His lot was cast in a day when Egypt was filled with the cult of many gods: polytheism was the keynote of her worship, and the task which young Amenhoteb either laid upon himself, or as is more probable, to which he was instigated by older men, was to change the multitude of gods for one; to supplant the worship of Amon and the host of kindred deities by the adoration of the radiant energy of the sun. The steps by which he sought to accomplish this end were vigorous and often violent: images were forcibly removed and their names scratched from the temple walls. The genial warmth of the sun, the emblem of life and strength, of health and beauty, deeply impressed his mind, and firing his imagination, secured his undying devotion to the fiery orb. On a monument still extant he is fitly represented in the act of homage to the sun, whose kindly beams are stretching forth to him in rays which terminate in hands.

Professor Petrie shows that this religious movement with its veneration of Aten, or the sun's disc, and with the ethical reforms that accompanied it, reveals a profound and remarkable era in Egyptian history. For a while the polytheism and anthropomorphism of earlier days were left behind. The customary glorying in war, which is so pronounced in the records of former kings, had become a thing of the past, while it was the fashion of the new age to exalt the domestic affections to a degree unknown before. Even art in this period reflects the tendency of the times. Oriental convention gave place to

a close study of nature, and the foliage on one of the Tell el Amarna columns is the work of a sculpture of rare merit and wonderful fidelity to natural form. In the worship of the sun, it is the abstract conception, the radiant energy, rather than any concrete form, which wins the devotion of those who brought about this great reform. The modern scientific idea of heat as a mode of motion was strikingly foreshadowed by this old and peculiarly refined form of sun-worship. Here are some lines from Mr. Griffiths' translation of the great hymn to Aten:—

‘Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
The living Aten, the beginning of life;

Men awake and stand upon their feet,
For thou liftest them up;

The small birds live when thou risest upon them;

The ships go forth both north and south,
For every way opens at thy rising;

The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell,
Thou makest it to breathe within the egg,
To give life to that which thou makest.

But to return to the history. Although the palace of Amenhotep's father was at Thebes, he himself elected Tell el Amarna for his home, and there betwixt the towns of Thebes and Memphis he built his palace and convened his court. But sudden reformatations, especially when backed by force, often stimulate reactionary zeal. It was so in this present case, for at Amenhotep's death the older cults revived and the recent innovations were swept impatiently aside. His city shared a similar fate. But fortunately for us the ruthless hands spared the contents of the palace record-chambers, and it was here that the far-famed tablets of Tell el Amarna lay undisturbed till eighteen years ago.

When we bear in mind the important change in our conception of early Syria and its relations with the outside world, which has been effected by the discovery and translation of

these letters, none can wonder that we grieve and grow indignant at the shameful treatment which they, in common with so many other priceless treasures of the past, have received at the hands of ignorant or careless men. Natives near Tell el Amarna, bent on plunder, were the first to discover the chamber and the precious things which it contained. In the hope of gain they conveyed the tablets to dealers who shipped them to Paris. Here they were at first either looked upon as forgeries or quite ignored. This contempt of the relics caused the dealers to regard them as worthless and treat them with no vestige of care. Many were hawked about in sacks and ground into a state of uselessness. At length the value of the fragments was recognised, and the bulk of those that remained were brought to the British Museum or taken to the Galleries at Berlin.

Some three hundred letters in all have been secured, and most of these are old dispatches from various officers to the king. They hail from many lands: some from far-off Babylon; others from diverse states in Western Asia, and many from the governors of Egyptian provinces. But those which are more immediately our concern are the dispatches which came from rulers in Palestine: rulers who were in the position partly of subjects and partly of allies.

The feature about these letters which is particularly interesting to the student of Jewish history is the type of writing in which they are cast. Where we should have looked for the hieroglyphics¹ of Egypt we find the cuneiform² letters of Babylon. Alongside of the cuneiform original in several tablets, the careful Egyptian scribe or recorder had written, in characters more familiar to his native land, a brief abstract of the dispatch, telling when it reached Egypt and from whom it came. The tablets are made of clay, and the largest is about 18 inches long and 10 inches wide. They assist us in our efforts to reconstruct the history of the time, and this we shall now briefly attempt to do.

¹ The picture-writing of Egypt.

² The wedged-shaped or arrow-headed writing of the early dwellers in Mesopotamia and Persia.

THE RELATION OF SYRIA AND EGYPT AT THE
TIME OF THE TABLETS.

The earliest connections of Egypt with Syria, at least on any considerable scale, were of an unhappy nature; a strong Syrian people, the Hyksos, had flooded the valley of the Nile with desolation and distress during a period of one hundred years (B.C. 2100 to 2000). For 260 years they held the Egyptians in complete subjection, and then their power waned, and roughly between the years B.C. 1740-1590 they lost the control they had gained, and Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, finally expelled them from the land. Flushed with success he followed hard on the defeated Syrians and drove them before him until he had penetrated far into the Phœnician coasts, while one of his successors, Tahutmes I., marched to the very banks of the Euphrates itself. The two succeeding kings lost rather than gained ground, and there are records of trouble which reached as near to home as Harosheth on the Kishon, near Mount Carmel.

But the tide which had seemed to ebb in the two preceding reigns was again in full flood when Amenhotep III. extended the borders of his supremacy far along the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Assyria were subdued by the triumphant king, and Egypt was at the zenith of its might. But the spoils so hardly won were quickly lost, and troubles clouded the latter days of the conqueror. The misfortunes which he lived to see were renewed and redoubled during the revolutionary years of his son and successor, Amenhotep IV. The young king was engrossed in domestic reform and in ensuring the success of his new cult; he had no time to spare for foreign politics, and the vast dominions of Egypt shrank under his rule until at length Syria had passed from beneath his influence. The revolt of one tribe was succeeded by the defection of its neighbour, and before the reign drew to its close few provinces remained within the ties of allegiance to their former overlord.

It is this melancholy story of dwindling power which the tablets so eloquently tell. A perusal of the dispatches and a reference (where possible) to the dates at which they were received enables us to follow the trend of events. Thus in an earlier letter we shall read loyal professions of friendship and obedience which a small state yields to the Egyptian court: we shall watch it taking advantage of her protection while it grew to wealth and influence, and at length we shall observe it boldly fling aside the ties which had long made it respectful to the southern conqueror. Never again did Egypt fully regain her former widespread influence, and the achievements of subsequent kings only partially restored her lost supremacy.

THE TABLETS.

We can, for convenience sake, divide the tablets into three groups. The first narrates events referring to the peaceful days in the earlier half of the reign of Amenhotep III. Then follow a group which reflect the troubles and disturbances that were looming ominously in Northern Syria during the closing years of the same king's reign. And the latest tablets show disaster following disaster as the trouble sweeps down the Palestinian coast from North to South, coming ever nearer to Egypt itself.

Letters written during the Days of Peace.

One of the early letters to Amenhotep III. is written in a language which makes translation well nigh impossible, and we can at most only hope to gather a few facts from the names which it contains. It came from Tarkhundaraush, who apparently was a Hittite¹ king on good terms with Egypt and who was even at this time contracting family alliances with the royal house of that land.

Close to the Hittites' territory, and stretching to the east of it through northern Mesopotamia and along the river Euphrates lay the country of Mitani. Its king, Dushratta,

¹ A people the bounds of whose country it is somewhat difficult to define, as their territory varied from year to year. Roughly we may limit the area under their dominion to the land between Kadesh on the Orontes, the shores of the Ægean sea, and Carchemish on the Euphrates.

lived on friendly terms with Egypt and we find him writing to complain of attacks which he had suffered from the Hittite tribes, whom he said had marched as enemies into his land. He evidently succeeded at this time in defeating the invaders, and attributes his success to his god Tishub.

An important series of letters which he addressed to Amenhoteb IV. throw a most interesting light upon the relations which subsisted between the Egyptian and Syrian kings. Matrimonial alliances in successive generations were strengthening the happy relations of the royal houses by the strong ties of kinship. Dushratta's sister had married Amenhoteb III. and we learn from a tablet that his daughter was the bride of Nimmuriya, Amenhoteb IV.

To Nimmuriya king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me: Dushratta, king of Mitani who loves you, your father-in-law. I am well. Prosperity to your house, to Tadukhipa my daughter, your wife¹ [Winckler 20.]

But though the relations were amicable we may safely infer from the following passage that the influence of Egypt was growing in Mitani, for where Dushratta's father would only yield a favour at the seventh demand, Dushratta evidently thinks it politic to accede when first he is asked, and tries to make a virtue out of necessity.

'When the father of Nimmuriya (Amenhoteb III.) sent to Artatama, my grandfather, and asked for his daughter, my grandfather was disinclined to grant his request. Five and six times he sent and on none of these occasions did he give her, and even to seven times he sent and then he gave her [Winckler 21.]

There was evidently a keen eye to business even in these marriage transactions, for in this same tablet Dushratta reminds Amenhoteb of his promise to 'make gold plentiful in Khani-galbat.'

Still further to the east we come to Babylonia or, as it was then known in Egypt, Karduniyash. Here also alliances were formed, but the relations seem to be somewhat strained and the

¹ For the passages from the tablets, which are quoted here somewhat roughly, the writer is indebted to Hugo Winckler's *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, published by Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, Berlin.

friction and distrust which the tablets reflect was perhaps due to the long delays in acknowledging the receipt of letters and fulfilling the charges which they contained—a delay which the excessive distance would readily explain.

I have your communication in which you say, 'Behold you ask my daughter as your wife, . . . Nobody has seen her up to this present, whether she is living or whether she is dead.' These are your words which you have written to me in your letter. But you have never sent a messenger who knows your sister. [Winckler 1.]

Formerly when my father sent a messenger to you, you did not retain him many days but quickly let him return, and you sent a handsome present to my father. But now when I have sent my messenger to you, you retain him until the sixth year, and for six years you have sent me as a present 30 mina of gold which is like silver. [Winckler 2.]

Before turning from our notice of the kings in outlying regions, we must mention a letter from a certain King of Alashia. There has been a diversity of opinion as to where Alashia was situate. Some have thought that a country in northern Syria, near the land of the Hittites is the one to which reference is made; but Winckler, who supports his assertion with excellent arguments, identifies it with the island of Cyprus. He points to the reference, in the letter, to large consignments of copper that the writer is sending as a present to the King of Egypt, and reminds us that we have independent evidence to show that copper was worked in Cyprus, whereas we have no knowledge of mines for its extraction in those regions where the rival theory would locate this land. He further adds that the King of Alashia not only announces the gift which he is sending, but intimates in no very delicate terms that a present of silver would not be unwelcomed by the writer. This would seem a more or less unnecessary request from a people whose land lay in the region occupied by the Syrian Hittites, where silver was plentiful, and Winckler's identification is probably the most correct. Here is the extract from the king's letter:—

As a present for my brother I send five talents of copper, and five pairs of horses, as a present for my brother. I have sent quickly back my brother's messenger, so shall my brother quickly dispatch my messenger Send silver. [Winckler 26.]

Turning now to the letters from the lesser Syrian states we find that they often relate to no business in particular, and are important only in that they illustrate the fact that a regular correspondence was customary between the governors of these districts and the sovereigns of Egypt. We need only quote from a limited number, and shall choose those containing names which have been rendered familiar by their Biblical associations.

The path [caravan] of the king, my lord, to Busruna (Bozrah). . . [Winckler 145.]

To the king, my master, Artamanya the prince of Zir-Basan (the plain of Bashan). Behold I am ready with my people and my chariots to lead the troops to any place where the king commands. [Winckler 161.]

And behold I am guarding Khazura (Hazor) and its vicinity for the king, my master. May my lord the king bear in mind all that has occurred at Hasor, thy faithful city, and to thy servant. [Winckler 203.]

To the king, my master Puaddi of Wurza Behold I am guarding the king's city I bear in mind day and night the commands of the king. [Winckler 236.]

To my master the king Arzaza, thy servant Gazri (Gezer). [Winckler 177.]

Yitia the prince of Askaluna, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the attendant of thy horses. [Winckler 210.]

Zimridi, the prince of Lakisha (Lachish), thy servant, the dust of thy feet. [Winckler 217.]

His officer would ask my lord the king if I may guard the gates of Azzati (Gaza) and the gates of Yapu (Joppa). [Winckler 214.]

TRoubles ARISING IN THE OUTLYING STATES OF NORTHERN SYRIA.

A sure sign of a country's waning greatness is its inability to discharge the duties which it owes to its allies and dependent states. Its prestige receives a fatal blow, and the very necessity to fend for themselves fosters a spirit of independence in those who formerly had been quick to obey. Where they once leaned upon the stronger arm they learn to walk alone. For those who are too weak to assume an independent attitude desertion to the enemy will have its strong attractions. It was

so with Egypt at the close of the reign of Amenhotep III. Some chieftains on the lower reaches of the Litany river thought that they might, with every prospect of success, attack the tribes who dwelt in the wilder regions of the valley above. It would seem that they looked to Egypt for help in vain, and were doomed to disappointment in their enterprise, as they were beaten off by the fierce attacks of the Hittites.

Lo, we laid siege to the towns in the land of Amki for the king, my lord. Then approached Idagama, the prince of Kinza, at the head of the Khatti people. [Winckler 131.]

These symptoms of paralysis were soon followed by others, and the closing years of Amenhotep were darkened by the steady advance of the Hittites into the plain of Damascus. The foreign relations of Egypt at this time were extremely complex, and many of the tablets which are submissive in tone do not convey, in the fair words they use, a correct impression of the selfish policy their writers were minded to adopt, but which for the present they dare not openly avow. Thus we can see some tribes who were strong enough to justify their claim to independence, flinging aside all vestige of allegiance to Egypt: others remained true in word alone, while a few still observed the ties which bound them to their overlord.

The Khabiri, an alliance of Syrian tribes in the neighbourhood of Damascus, were led by Namyawaza and remained faithful to Egypt. Itakama attacked him from the upper Orontes and the Damascus plain. Biridashya, another Syrian chief who had been inactive till he saw which way the battle would turn, now joined Itakama and attacked the land behind Tyre and raised up a dangerous insurrection among the chiefs in the region of Bozrah. Northern Galilee and southern Galilee were attacked in turn, and in turn found it their wisest policy to join the disaffected tribes.

Since every one of the cities of the land Gar (Gur) revolted: Uduma (Adamah), Aduri (Et Tireh), Araru (Arareh), Mishtu (Mushtah), Magdali (Magdala) were taken. [Winckler 237.]

We are unable in this paper to follow in any adequate degree the complicated course of events in northern Syria

which form the theme of a long series of tablets. We have, however, laid stress upon the leading points which bear a relation to our present purpose, and on a later page we shall sum up the conclusions to which they conduct us.

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN SYRIA.

It is the account of this phase in the Syrian revolt which forms the most fruitful field for the Biblical student. He is here on familiar ground, and has access to highly valuable information respecting the names, customs, and government of Canaan prior to the invasion of the Hebrew race. Chief in interest, and in the volume of material which relates to it, is the account of the fortress of Jerusalem and its king Abdkhiba. Urgent dispatches intimate that land to the west and north had been lost, and the rock fortress of Jerusalem itself was in imminent danger of assault. Abdkhiba had evidently been accused of treachery: he writes a vigorous letter in self-defence, and pleads for assistance in the unequal struggle which lay before him.

(Send) troops to the land of Urusalim. For if no troops arrive this year, the whole jurisdiction of my lord, the king If no troops arrive this year, then let the king send his officer that he may fetch a number of my brethren and we may die beside the king our lord. [Winckler 181.]

The city of Gezer lay to the west of Jerusalem, and was soon involved in difficulties: Yapakhi, its king, writes to Egypt for help.

Let the king, our lord, the sun of heaven, take care of his country, for mighty are the Khabiri against us; let the king, my lord, stretch out his hand to me, and let the king, my lord, free me from the hands of the Khabiri. [Winckler 204.]

Some of the leaders of revolt, whose names figure largely in the troubles of the north, were also involved in the southern disturbances. Lapaya and Pakhura were strenuous in their opposition to the true allies of Egypt, and the Khabiri seem to have been making vigorous and dangerous attacks on the fortresses of divers districts. Lapaya led the assault on Gezer,

and then passing through Samaria attacks the king of Megiddo, who writes in a piteous strain to Egypt imploring help.

W. 195. The king, my lord, knows that since the troops returned (to Egypt) Lapaya has shown hostility to me, and we are not able to grow vegetables, and we are not able to go outside the gate towards Lapaya's and thou givest us no troops. And behold he has expressed the intention of conquering Magidda. Therefore, let the king save his city lest Lapaya take possession of it.

The last letters of Abdkhiba are sorry reading. The faithful king is in sore straits, with the enemy closing in on every side. The help for which he pleads seems never to have come, and city after city fell. Gezer, Ashkelon, and Lachish succumbed; Rabbath was taken, and the invader entered another town in yet closer proximity to Jerusalem. Possibly the deaf ear of Egypt to the cry for assistance at length drove the faithful ruler to the course he had long tried to avoid, and in sheer self-defence he had to join an enemy he could no longer withstand.

W. 180. The king knows all the States have concluded a league against me; therefore, let the king care for his land. See the province of Gazri, that of Asqualuna, and the town of Lakisi. . . .

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TABLETS.

We now propose to turn our attention to the light which this interesting discovery has thrown upon the history of Palestine in pre-Israelite times; which has enabled us to trace the influences to which its inhabitants were subjected, and the forms of government which they enjoyed.

The Date of the Exodus.

Although the tablets afford us no direct evidence whereby we may definitely date the exodus from Egypt, they materially assist us in our efforts to fix the time of its occurrence by narrowing down the limits within which we may reasonably suppose that it took place. Throughout the correspondence Palestine is consistently represented as a province whose many states owed allegiance to Egypt. We do not deny that there was constant revolt, nor are we blind to the fact that each tribe

as it grew strong was eager to renounce the ties which bound it to the southern conqueror, yet there is every warrant to maintain, and this applies with peculiar force to the highlands of Judæa, that Palestine at the time when the tablets were written was virtually a province of Egypt. In addition to this we are unable to discover any hint of a Hebrew invasion, and the theory which sees an allusion to one in the repeated attacks of the Khabiri has been very generally rejected and cannot possibly be maintained. These facts combined serve powerfully to reinforce the evidence which we possess from an independent source that the exodus did not take place prior to the year B.C. 1400.¹

On the other hand the latest date at which we can be sure that the Israelites were no longer in Egypt is afforded by a recently recovered inscription of Merenptah, which must be referred to about the year 1300 B.C. It contains the following words in a passage describing the triumphs of Merenptah, 'the people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed.'² The reference may be to a single tribe dwelling in the central parts of Northern Canaan, or it may involve a group of tribes, but it is evidence which can hardly be disputed that the Hebrews had already gained a footing in the land.

If there is one thing that these tablets clearly show it is the constant southerly movement of the tribes of Syria. A careful consideration of the migrations of the leading peoples will fully bear out the statements we have made above with regard to the date of the exodus. One of these great tribes was the Khatti, or the Hittites, while another, more important to our present purpose, was that known as the Amurri or Amorites. The former, who first appear in the far north, and are later found upon Mount Lebanon, finally fixed their

¹ In Exodus i. 11, we learn that the Israelites, while yet retained as captives in Egypt were compelled to assist in the construction of the cities Pithom and Ra'amses. It was Ramessu II. of the XIXth dynasty to whom the erection of Pithom must be referred, and his date is fixed by Prof. Sayce at B.C. 1348-1281. See Dr. Driver's *Genesis* p. xxix.

² *Contemporary Review*, 1896. *Revue Bib. Internat.*, July, 1896. *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archæology*, Nov. 2, 1897. *Polychrome Bible Esch.* xxxvii. note 11.

headquarters at Kedesh by the shores of Lake Homs. The Amurri seem originally to have come from the Orontes valley, which lies to the north of Palestine, and it was not until the reign of Ramessu II. that they had reached Lake Homs. It is obvious that many years more must have intervened before Joshua could fight with the 'five kings of the Amorites,' whose cities ranged from Hebron to Jerusalem, and the state of affairs which the Book of Joshua describes renders the date within the limits described above, antecedently probable.

Babylonian Influence in Canaan.

The tribes who at this time were living in Canaan were led by men whom we can hardly suppose to have been unskilled in the ways of the outside world, and whom we may fairly expect to have been influenced by the customs, and acquainted with the traditions, of those more civilized nations whose ambitions and needs would make them frequent visitors. The very fact that the tablets are written in cuneiform speaks eloquently of the extent to which Babylonian culture had made itself felt. It may be argued that this culture would be confined to the members of the ruling class, and even in their case would be merely superficial in its character, but it is at least as reasonable to suppose that its influence would not be lost upon the mass of the people themselves. Chariots and caravans, royal messengers and armed troops, merchants and adventurers, must have passed and returned along the great high roads. The country folk would learn of the ways of life in the lands from which the passers-by had come, and we need feel no surprise when we find traces of Babylonian thought in the writings of the Hebrew people who afterwards conquered the country and mingled with its inhabitants.

Forms of Government in Palestine before the Exodus.

Professor Petrie¹ has an interesting note on the varieties of government existing in Palestine at this time, which may be

¹ *Syria and Egypt, from the Tell el Amarna Letters.*

deduced from casual remarks in the various dispatches of the Tell el Amarna series. Some chiefs, he shows us, owed their elevation to the direct action of the king of Egypt, while in other tribes hereditary rule prevailed. In the municipal form of government, which in three of the cities committed the conduct of affairs to the decisions of a group of elders, we are reminded of 'the elders and all the inhabitants of Gibeon' of whom we read in Joshua ix. 11. A parallel to the account of Deborah is found in the female rule of Nina who guarded the interests of a district in Judea.

A most interesting instance of elective rule is illustrated by the letters which Abdkhiba of Jerusalem addresses to Egypt. He there repeatedly refers to his election and says, 'neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The strong arm of the king established me over my father's territory.' Prof. Petrie compares this statement with Heb. vii. 3, 'without father, without mother, without genealogy,' and remarks that such 'cannot be a co-incidence when it concerns two kings of the same city, and is a phrase never known elsewhere It is the formula of an elective rule distinctly.'

Shows Pre-Israelitish Origin of the Name Jerusalem.

It was formerly imagined, on the strength of Judges xix. 10, that Jebus was the old name for Jerusalem, and that it clung to the town until the time of David. But in the letters of Abdkhiba we are confronted with the name Urusalim before ever the Hebrews had arrived, while the name 'Jebus' is nowhere to be found. The name Urusalim is sometimes used for the city and the district which surrounded it—'the country of the city of Urusalim'; sometimes of the district alone—'the country of Urusalim.'¹ It would seem that in very early times the name was confined to the city alone, somewhat later it was extended in its use to embrace the city and the surrounding locality, while in the days of Israel it was again confined to the city itself. Prof. Jastrow, however, can see in I. Chron. viii. 28

¹ Prof. Jastrow, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1892.

a hint that even in Hebrew days the word was subject to the larger use, for sixty clans, according to that account, are said to have had their dwelling in Jerusalem.

Bearing on the Book of Joshua.

All who have read the Book of Joshua will recollect that the country against which the warlike successor of Moses directed his military operations was divided among many small city states, each with its own king. Alarmed by the onward march of the Hebrew invader we find the kings of these little states banding themselves together to resist the attacks of a common foe. We read of Adoni-Zedec of Jerusalem, Hoham of Hebron, Japhia of Lackish, Debir of Hebron, and many more. This is precisely what we should expect from the tablets, which to this extent confirm the Book of Joshua.

Signs of Influence of Current Semitic Dialects.

Professor Jastrow points out that, although the Palestinian rulers could write in Babylonian, they used a form which 'is 'strongly influenced by the Semitic dialects current at the time 'in Palestine and Phœnicia, which, as the proper names indicate, 'must have been akin to, if not identical with, the Phœnician 'and Hebrew as known through the later documents.'¹ One curious instance we find in the form of an address used by Abdkhiba when writing to Amenhotep. He generally writes 'the King my lord,' but once he uses the form 'my lord the King,' which could not fail to be displeasing to Assyrian ears, and serves to show that the writer was thinking in a language akin to Hebrew while he was writing in Babylonian. The full form of address in one particular instance is interesting when we compare it with Mal. i. 11. It runs thus: 'See the King my 'lord, his name is fixed from the rising of the sun to the setting 'of the sun.'

H. J.

¹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1892.

PECULIARITIES OF GENDER.

During a recent visit to Syria I learned with some surprise, while amusing myself and others by frantic attempts to pick up a little Arabic, that in that language, as in German, the sun is feminine and the moon masculine. Thus in the Arabic version of the Bible, Ps. civ. 19 is rendered 'the sun knoweth *her* going down,' while, in Job xxv. 5, we read 'Behold even to the moon, and *he* shineth not.' Hitherto German had been the only language in which I had observed this peculiarity; and once, when listening to the Rev. George Müller, of Bristol, his German extraction had been revealed to me in the following singular way. Preaching from Titus ii. 11 and referring to the rising of the sun as an illustration of the grace of God suggested by the word *ἐπεφάνη* he said 'When *she* arises in the East'; then pausing for a moment he corrected himself and said 'When *he* arises in the East.' His command of English was so perfect, that but for this slip he might easily have passed for an Englishman. The change of gender, however, was the Shibboleth by which his nationality was revealed.

The discovery I made, while spending a few weeks at Shweir on Mount Lebanon, surprised me all the more that, in those lands where Arabic is spoken, these heavenly bodies were formerly worshipped as Baal and Ashtoreth, the one as Lord of the Universe and the other (though this is more doubtful) as Queen of Heaven (cf. Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 17-19: also 'Queen of Heaven' in Hastings' Dict., and Cyclop.-Biblica). Besides in Hebrew, to which Arabic is so closely related, the word *lebānāh* which occurs three times in the Bible (Cant. vi. 10: Is. xxiv. 23: xxx. 26) and is derived from a root signifying 'white,' is, as its termination indicates, feminine. It is but fair to add, however, that this is the more poetic word for moon, and that the other two words which occur more frequently

yareach and *chodesh* are masculine. How then are we to explain this remarkable agreement between German and Arabic, in reversing the usual order, so far as relates to gender, of the sun and moon? and what ideas, if any, are hereby suggested as to the relative position of man and woman, when these languages first began to be spoken?

In German mythology the sun is Freya with the golden locks, while the moon is her lover, who follows her faithfully night and day, and shines only in her light. The old Germanic idea of the superiority of woman is one with which students are familiar, especially in the pages of early and mediæval poetry and romance. Like the sun she was the source of light and life, of beauty and warmth to the circle in which she moved, and nothing, therefore, was more natural than to speak of the orb of day as a woman, and to assign the moon to the inferior and dependent position of a man. But how does this consist with the very different relation of the sexes in those lands where Arabic is now spoken? This difficulty occurred to me at once in Shweir, and drew forth the almost involuntary exclamation 'Then my theory is all knocked to pieces.' A little consideration, however, soon enabled me to view the matter in a different light. For, as is now generally recognised, woman once held a very different position from that which is now assigned to her among Arabic-speaking nations. A wife, for example, was not under the power of her husband but under the guardianship of her male relatives, and her sons were named not after the father but after the mother, and continued with her to belong to her tribe. Indeed the system then existing was *matriarchal* rather than *patriarchal*, and in many respects afforded a strong contrast to that by which it was succeeded and which now prevails. May we not, therefore, find in the peculiarity of gender already mentioned an illustration of the superior position once enjoyed by women in the East, and to which by the aid of education and religion they may yet be restored?

In support of this view, reference may be made to the late Professor Robertson Smith's work on *Kinship and Marriage in*

Early Arabia, where it is conclusively shown that all kinship and inheritance were originally reckoned through the woman, and that, whether their husbands belonged to the same or another tribe, they claimed and retained for themselves an indefeasible right to their children and property. Hence it naturally followed that the mother was a much more important individual than the father in the estimation of her family and tribe, resembling in this respect the sun in the heavens. Gradually as male kinship asserted itself the position of women changed for the worse. The wife bound to her husband by capture or by contract followed him to his home, and lost her former independence whatever else she gained. A Bedouin form of divorce compares her to a shoe which, whether it pinch or no, can easily be thrown aside. 'She was my slipper, and I have cast her off' is, according to Burckhardt, all that a Bedouin needs to say when he has grown weary of his wife. Is there any connection between this and the custom referred to in Ruth iv. 7? and does this shed any light on a somewhat analogous marriage custom not unknown among ourselves?

In early times, among many of the Arab tribes, the principal object of worship was doubtless a female deity, who is usually identified with the Phœnician Ashtoreth or Astarte, whose prototype was probably the Babylonian or Assyrian *Ishtar*. In a prayer of Assurnazirpal, purporting to date from about 1800 B.C., Ishtar of Nineveh is addressed by him as 'Queen of the Gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of the great Gods.' Baal was of later origin, and his worship marks the change already referred to in the position of women. As Robertson Smith remarks in the volume previously mentioned, 'An early trace of the transformation of the supreme goddess into a supreme god is found by comparing Herodotus' Urania or heaven-goddess with the Uranus who takes her place in Arrian (vii. 20) as the only Arab deity except Dionysus. But it is probable that this transformation is due to the Greek narrator, and that the visible heaven that embraces all the stars and the sun himself was still, as the description

suggests, the great Mother of all' (*Kinship and Marriage*, p. 300).

Of the four words in the Hebrew Scriptures, which are rendered 'Sun' in the authorised version the one most frequently in use (*shemesh*) is feminine. In Ps. civ. 19, however, this is used as a masculine noun; and the question naturally arises, is this only an instance of poetic license, or does the change of gender mark a change of thought and point to a later origin? Certainly all Semitic analogy leads us to expect that the further back we go in our theological and etymological researches the idea of motherhood assumes an increasing value and significance, until it becomes supreme. What more natural, therefore, for these Arab tribes than to transfer this idea to so glorious an object as the sun, and to represent her, as is actually done in the Himyarite inscriptions, as a goddess whose glory far exceeds that of the moon, though he too is to be worshipped? The independent and honourable position assigned to women in early times among the Germans seems also to have impressed such Roman writers as Julius Cæsar and Tacitus, from whose writings, as well as those of mediæval romancists, we are prepared for this peculiarity of gender in relation to these heavenly bodies. Indeed the old Germanic idea of woman was so exalted an one that we are not surprised to find her worshipped as the sun in the heavens, while the moon, poor fellow!—*der Mond*—follows her constantly without overtaking her, or, should he succeed in his effort, is immediately extinguished in her superior brightness!

W. H. CARSLAW.

THE VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A GERMAN ESTIMATE.

In a concluding note to his article on 'The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament' Dr. Driver recommends Kautzsch's '*Die bleibende Bedeutung des alten Testaments.*' It will be noticed that, by the use of the word 'religious' in the title of his paper, Dr. Driver confines the subject within narrower bounds than those adopted by the Professor at Halle: while, on the other hand, the latter in dealing with the 'permanent importance' of the Old Testament naturally includes its religious value. Under this head, as Dr. Driver says, Kautzsch's 'estimate . . . does not differ substantially from' his own. But what Professor Kautzsch has to say on the importance of the Old Testament outside the immediate scope of Dr. Driver's paper is so excellent that it seems an opportunity not to be lost to present those readers who are not 'conversant with German,' or who, being conversant, are unable to come by the book, with a digest of its contents.

Dr. Kautzsch's pamphlet has passed into a second edition, in the Preface to which (dated July, 1903) he notices the stir made by the then but recently published '*Babel and Bible*' of Delitzsch. How to account for this stir is to him a difficulty in view of the fact that Delitzsch's statements had for years been common knowledge among specialists, while even to the man of ordinary education they were rendered accessible. The former spoke at once of the diminished value of the Old Testament on its moral and religious side, and pointed to its complete dependence on Babylonian models. The new discoveries disposed of the claim of the Old Testament to be a record of Revelation. On the other hand those who, not being actual scholars, yet knew and loved their Bible, grieved over the admission of 'the abomination of desolation'

into the Holy Place, and felt the only hope of safety to lie in stoutly denying the alleged dependence of the Old Testament on Babylon for its narratives and conceptions. A little patience would have shown that neither of these attitudes was justified: for it was soon generally recognised that the Biblical material that could be traced to undoubted Babylonian sources had, on its introduction to Hebrew ground, been freed from all mythological contamination, and so became qualified for its religious purpose. 'Far from acting, therefore, prejudicially on the consideration which is due to the Old Testament, the Babel-Bible controversy opened the eyes of many to the importance and grandeur of the Book.'

With this introduction Dr. Kautzsch turns to his subject 'The permanent importance of the Old Testament.' The title itself, he reminds us, implies that such importance has been denied; indeed, it is no new move to attack the Old Testament or to attempt to depreciate it. It has been subject to this treatment from very early times and also from very different motives. He adduces some instances in point, passes them rapidly in review, and then settles down to his argument with the remark that against all such attacks the permanent importance of the Old Testament is assured if we keep in mind the three considerations which he proceeds to formulate:—

1. There must be an honest and unreserved surrender of all those arguments of an apologetic character which have been proved to be untenable.

2. There must be a right appreciation of the Old Testament as an artistic work and as a book of general historical importance.

3. Its value as a moral and religious book must be demonstrated.

Dr. Driver's full treatment of this last point renders it unnecessary to summarise Dr. Kautzsch's remarks here. We may, therefore, leave them on one side and confine ourselves to the first two of his propositions.

1. If the Old Testament is to be of permanent value there must be a willing surrender of those positions which are untenable. Of such, three are mentioned :—

(a) The teaching of a theory of mechanical inspiration, in virtue of which each letter of the Old Testament is held to be absolutely accurate and of equal value.

Practically, no one would now-a-days think of classing together the Genealogies of the Chronicler and Is. 1 or Ps. 1 ; but something more is needed, viz., ‘ the calm and frank distinction between the spirit of Revelation, by which the whole is animated, and the different human *media* through whom the divine thoughts were transferred to writing.’

Jewish tradition assigned the highest place among the Old Testament writings to the Law, that is, the Five Books of Moses, and gave the Prophets a secondary position. This estimate mistook the true character of the Old Testament Revelation and from the Christian standpoint is altogether impossible. Indeed we have our Lord’s authority not merely for the abolition of Old Testament commands (Matt. xv. 17), but also for the supersession of the Old Testament spirit in general by that of the New. When the sons of Zebedee asked for revenge after an Old Testament model, our Lord said (Luke ix. 55), ‘ Know ye not of what spirit ye are the children ? ’ This point is enforced by the story of Bishop Colenso and the Zulu who was helping him in the translation of the Old Testament. The startling question of the latter—arising out of Exod. xxi. 20 and 21—‘ Has God really said so ? ’ received a negative answer from the Bishop as there dawned upon him the impossibility of making God responsible for everything said in the Old Testament.

The Christian judgment, therefore, must be free and unfettered by non-scriptural teaching about inspiration in dealing with points of the moral law under the Old Covenant. Some of these cannot be taken as commands or suggestions from God ; and to defend them is to do the Old Testament a sorry service. But granting this, there still remains very much

in the Old Testament of which it can be truly said, 'There is God's spirit and God's word; there is that which is permanent and imperishable.'

(b) There must be no longer any denial or suppression of the fact that the view of Religion manifested in the Old Testament is preparatory and imperfect. The theory that the Revelation of God must have been exhaustive and perfect from the beginning is of man's invention and will not fit the facts. It is nearer the truth to say that God adapted Himself to the weakness of man's intelligence and led him on step by step. A fervent wish is expressed for the time when it will not be considered unorthodox to candidly recognise traces of Animism or Spirit-belief in the Old Testament, or to hold that its Monotheism, which allows a place to other popular deities by the side of Yahweh, is merely relative; and also for the time when there will be an end to the flood of pamphlets issuing year by year, particularly from England and America, on the historicity of the Mosaic account of the Creation and its reconciliation with science. When the preacher, addressing himself to the spiritual meaning of that account, speaks of the endless power, wisdom, and goodness of the eternal and living God, he will not want for willing and intelligent hearers.

To speak of the consequences which a due recognition of this principle must bring about in school teaching cannot be now attempted. 'The great thing is to put on one side all that which, by the light of the New Testament, has become merely preliminary and transient and to be silent on those points that have been introduced from late Jewish sources. Accordingly, I consider it an injustice to the children to trouble them for hours with the account of the material and building of the so-called Tabernacle, the vestments of the Priests, the different kinds of offerings, and similar matters which usually occupy a large portion of the lesson books.'

(c) A third thing must be abandoned, viz., the frequent habit of reading into Old Testament beliefs and expectations a new meaning in order to render them suitable for present

Christian needs. Messianic prophecy is the greatest sufferer from this spiritualising treatment. 'I am not for one moment denying the perfect right of practical exposition to pass from the prophecy to the fulfilment and have often availed myself of texts from the prophetic Books of the Old Testament in Advent sermons. But that method of interpretation is to be condemned which pretends that prophecy and fulfilment coincide in each respect.' The outlook of the Old Testament Prophets was limited in extent and this fact must be recognised. Occasionally the limit was broken through and a brighter light vouchsafed. 'When a Prophet, in looking forward to the New Covenant, speaks of the law of the Lord being put in the inward parts and written in the heart, or of a circumcision of the lips and heart, or of a rending of the hearts and not the garments; when a Psalmist recognises nothing but a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart as the proper offering to God; we must admit that they possess a deep and true conception of the worship of God in spirit and in truth, and realise how fragmentary and imperfect is the worship of God under the Old Covenant. We repeat: where such knowledge is shown, there is God's spirit and God's word, there we are in the presence of what is permanent and imperishable in the Old Testament.'

2. The next point treated by Dr. Kautzsch refers to (a) the artistic value of the Old Testament and (b) its importance as a source of historical information.

(a) The literary beauty of the narratives is emphasized, prominence being given to some of the 'incomparable master-pieces' of the Yahwist in Gen. iii., xi., xviii., &c., while passages like that of Judg. ix. compel the admiration of competent critics. On a level with the best work must be placed the 'History of David in Jerusalem' (II. Sam. xi.-xx. and I. Kings i. 1). A casual reader might easily suppose that this narrative was penned by a hand unfriendly to David, but a closer acquaintance reveals the art with which the writer conveys the general impression of a man who, in spite of crime and weakness, possessed a royal personality worthy of our respect.

The beauty of Hebrew Poetry is well-known through the Psalms, that 'inexhaustible source of elevation and support to millions.' But in a former age much of this beauty was lost owing to the theory of inspiration which did not admit of a distinction between different degrees of excellence. Bishop Robert Lowth (1753) was one of the first to draw attention to the grandeur of the Old Testament Poetry and the fire of enthusiasm which was then kindled is still unquenched.

To whatever extent the Old Testament may be depreciated, such works as the Psalms and the Book of Job will retain their position amongst the poetical monuments of the world.

And (b) a permanent importance attaches to the Old Testament on historical grounds. Its value as a source of history is quite independent of its importance as a message of Revelation. The flood of light lately poured upon the Bible by new discoveries, especially in the field of cuneiform research, has been of the greatest benefit, but it is a mistake to think that Bible statements have thereby been rendered superfluous. 'Apart from the fact that the foreign material cannot be fully explained without reference to the Bible, there are numerous places where the Bible alone is our help. There are heaps of cuneiform inscriptions but they only give us some few names of the Kings of Israel and Judah; whilst the Bible affords us complete lists. And the Register of Nations (Gen. x.) still remains an ethnographical document of the first rank which has not yet been displaced by research among the Monuments.'

We must, further, take account of the effect which Old Testament ideas—quite apart from the subject of religion—have had on the general philosophy of Christian peoples. 'If any one thinks that this effect can be ignored or that the tie which binds us in so many ways to the Old Testament civilisation can be lightly snapped asunder, it is a proof that the strength and importance of that tie have not been properly appreciated by him.'

P. J. BOYER.

MONTHLY STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ST. MARK.—(Continued.)

EXPLANATORY NOTE :—It will be the aim in these papers, so far as may be practicable, to avoid an undue emphasis on mere points of detail, lest the broad lines of the gospel should be obscured by too frequent excursions along bye-paths, which though interesting in themselves, tend merely to confuse the reader whose limited time forbids the luxury of extended research.

Where it is necessary, to a true understanding of a vital theme, to add a note upon a special point, it will be printed in smaller type and in such fashion that its omission need not break the main thread of narrative.¹

St. Mark's Introductory Statements.

The evangelist is eager to start the task he has set before him and reproduce the successive phases in the active ministry of our Lord's life, and consistent with his obvious design he lingers no longer on the threshold of his subject than is necessary that he may introduce his narrative. The preparatory mission of St. John, the Baptism of our Lord, and the Temptation which immediately ensued, occupy but small space in the record of St. Mark, though for us they are fraught with useful lessons, and contain instructive hints for the solution of problems of wide interest: we must stay to consider them.

The first verse stands as a superscription to the Gospel, and gives an important clue to the writer's conception of the nature of our Lord. Two outstanding features in his view were the Messianic Kingship and the Divine Sonship—the Christ and the Son of God. The influence of these thoughts pervades the Gospel, and it will be our purpose to trace the steps by which they were revealed. The name that our Lord assumed for Himself implied in its first presentation no claim to supernatural

¹ The writer is indebted to many who have written on St. Mark, but for the use of those who would follow the study of this Gospel more closely than our space permits he would recommend the excellent English Commentaries of Prof. Swete and Dr. Gould.

power, nor was it so understood of the people. 'Son of Man'—it was a term which linked Him to our frail humanity, and yet a name to which He gave 'far-reaching significance.' As used by Him it was ultimately seen to carry a unique claim to authority in matters which concerned the spiritual welfare of our race.

The conception of Divine Sonship, which experience had amply justified to the mind of the Evangelist, never dawned upon the men of Galilee. The villagers of Nazareth were offended in Him; His family thought Him mad and the religious rulers from Jerusalem pronounced Him the victim of demoniac possession. The demons indeed had acknowledged a higher claim, but He bade them hold their peace. Men must learn in another way, a worthier way, than at the prompting of foul spirits, to recognise His sovereignty. The common people, whose frank approval contrasts strangely with the sinister designs of Scribes and Pharisees, came nearer to the truth. 'He is a prophet,' they declared, Nor need we be surprised at this blindness of heart in the outer circles of His intercourse, for the inner ring of His most intimate disciples were dull of understanding, and conviction in their case was but slowly wrought: the twelve had been long with their Master ere St. Peter could say, 'Thou art the Christ of God.'

The Baptist.

The glad tidings of the gospel had their beginning in the Baptist's proclamation of the Coming One. The advent of Jesus Christ did not stand alone, it was not out of harmony with the past: it was the culmination of history for which centuries had prepared the way. A heresy which sorely tried the church in its early days denied this continuity; it despised the old dispensations as wholly bad, and declared that the God of the Jews was the enemy of mankind. Such views find no support in the gospel of St. Mark, who in these earlier verses linked the present with the past. To him the herald voice of John fulfilled an old prophetic utterance. It was Malachi, the

prophet, in his distress at the profanity of the temple priests, who had declared that God would come in person to cleanse His temple, and would send His messenger before His face. Wonderfully were the words fulfilled, but in a widely different way from that for which the prophet looked.

So remarkably are many of the prophetic utterances of Israel's earlier days fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ and in the existence of His Messianic kingdom ; and so peculiarly applicable are many events and sayings, which have a distinct historic setting in the time of their utterance, to the great event in Jewish, and indeed in human, history, that we naturally inquire in what light we are to view prophecy and its fulfilment, and how are we to explain the mysterious link between the two ? Must we fancy that the prophet enjoyed a magical vision into a future far removed from the time at which he wrote, and which must prove true, not in broad principle alone, but to its last detail ? This is a view which in the past has appealed to many, but it is compassed with great difficulties, not the least of which is the fact that in many cases events to which the prophet alluded turned out quite other than his words had indicated. Those who have studied the Book of Isaiah, for instance, in the light of its contemporary history, will see the force of this remark.

A truer explanation seems to lie at hand ; one that is more fundamental ; one that reveals a nobler Providence ; one that appeals more strongly to the modern mind. In this view the Messianic kingdom of our Lord is the crowning point of Jewish history, wherein each soaring aspiration of the ancient seer found its goal and its completion. In the dark days of the monarchy when Isaiah was confronted by the false and fickle king, his faith in God's purpose, in the triumph of the truth, never flinched. To Isaiah the king was the means through which a nation moved, and if this king was unfit to lead the people in the paths of righteousness, then another, an ideal king, would come. His faith was gloriously realized in the kingly Christ. To the prophet of later times who lived through the perplexities of a bitter exile ; who saw the sufferings of the noblest of the race, of those who were keeping their worship pure amid the temptations and seductions of a heathen land, there arose a new and grand conception. Israel, the pick of the nation, the Israel within Israel, was the servant of Jehovah to all mankind, by whose very sufferings the knowledge of God was proclaimed to all. How sublimely was his conception fulfilled in the person of the suffering Saviour. The admirable article on 'Prophecy' by Dr. Davidson in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* contains the following luminous words :—'The fundamental conceptions in these constructions are always the same—the presence of God with man, righteousness, peace, and the like—but the fabrics reared by

‘different prophets cease. They differ because each prophet, seeing the perfect future issue out of the movements and conditions of his own time, constructs his ideal of the new world out of the materials lying around him.’

John’s action in coming before the people in the prophet’s garb and with the preaching of repentance would awaken a spirit of deep expectancy in the people. True repentance and the advent of a Messianic king were ideas which were closely linked in the Hebrew mind at the time when the Baptist swayed the crowds who gathered to hear his faithful words. His deeds no less than his words would point the hearers to a Coming One. His act of baptism was the occasion to re-enforce the message of his mission. He was a mortal man, his cleansing was but a sign : the real work must be done by the Mightier One. Water is meet to make the body clean, but the Holy Spirit is the element where man is thoroughly purged.

We should note that the Baptist speaks of the Spirit rather as a pervading presence, like the air, than in a personal sense. The ascription of personality to the Holy Spirit occurs in the Christian, not in the Jewish thought. Here the difference is finely marked by the omission of the article and we might more intelligently translate ‘He shall baptise you *in Holy Spirit* and in power.’

Our Lord’s Baptism (9-11.)

The Baptism of Jesus was undoubtedly an important event, but it does not fall within the scope of St. Mark’s Gospel, and his reference to it is brief. To St. Matthew the whole question seems fraught with difficulties which he must argue at length to disperse. To St. Mark a bare statement of fact is enough : the Spirit which descends upon the Lord in dove-like form and the voice which proclaims His mission Divine. Deeply significant is the resemblance of the dove : it bespeaks in beautiful symbolic form the gentleness of Jesus’ reign. As we proceed we shall see how foreign this conception was to Jewish thought, but with what majesty and dignity it was endowed by the subsequent life of the Lord.

While the appearance of the dove was only a vision—as a dove, St. Luke tells us (iii. 22)—the descent of the Spirit was a real event. An obvious difficulty here occurs which is due to preconceived ideas of all that our Lord's relation to the Holy Spirit must involve. To avoid the dilemma many would wrest the language and explain that there was no need for the Spirit now to descend, and that nothing further is implied than that a sign of His presence was vouchsafed to those who stood around. The language certainly implies that a special descent of the Spirit marked the beginning of the ministry; but we need not, and indeed we cannot, think that the Spirit was not present before.

The Temptation (12-13).

The Spirit bestowed at the Baptism now begins to direct our Lord's action: It thrusts him forth (*εκβαλλει*). The word is a strong one, and St. Matthew and St. Luke use a milder term, 'Led Him forth' (*αγειν*), in accordance with a practice of which we shall have frequent occasion to remark. Exceptionally brief is this account of the Temptation, yet it serves as a typical instance of St. Mark's graphic narrative: the beasts that prowl around; the angels that attend and lend support, are details which we owe to St. Mark alone.

Holtzman shows how wonderfully the Temptation in its various stages reflects the actual conditions of our Lord's life.¹ He then proceeds to tell us that someone invented this story from the after knowledge of the life. This is incredible: it implies a remarkable insight into the inner meaning of our Lord's life in the early writers which the facts do not support. It postulates a greater miracle than the one it seeks to remove.

Preaching in Galilee and Call of Disciples (14-20).

St. Mark now amplifies, for he here begins his purposed task. Capernaum was important among the towns of Galilee, and thence ran roads to every corner of the land. It formed a fitting centre for evangelistic work, and our Lord fixed there His headquarters during His stay in the Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas. From it He made frequent expeditions to the

¹ See Dr. Sanday's article, 'Jesus Christ,' in *Hastings' Dictionary*.

country round when He wished to avoid the hasty enthusiasts who would make Him king, or hostile men who sought to take His life. The vast crowds to whom He preached were mainly of the labouring class, fishers and husbandmen, toilers on the sea and toilers on the land. They were simple-hearted folk, eager and unsuspecting, but slow to understand teaching which led beyond the elements, and our Lord, when He would impart profounder truth, felt compelled to clothe His thoughts in parabolic form.

John's work was ended; Jesus' work begins: John had preached in the wilderness; Jesus lives among the busy throng: John had waited till the people came; Jesus sought them out. The passage before us recounts the finding and call of Peter and Andrew, of James and John. In the fourth Gospel we read of eight months' labour in Judæa before the Galilean ministry began, but the first three Gospels do not mention it. There are places in which they show that they were not unacquainted with its occurrence—the reception in the house of Bethany implies a previous stay—but they are mainly concerned with the work in Galilee. If, however, we bear this previous ministry in mind, it will explain the apparently abrupt response of the disciples to Jesus' call. They had become His disciples a year before (Jno. i. 35-43); they had also seen His miracles (Jno. ii. 2-7). But this call was special and decisive: it bade them become companions of the Lord.

A comparison of this passage with St. Luke v. will illustrate what is meant by the differences of the gospels. It is evidently the same scene of the call, but it had passed through another mind. St. Luke couples the call with the great draught of fish. In his narrative, the boats are *empty*; the fishermen were *washing* their nets; there is the discourse from the ship; the great haul of fish and the single intimation to the four that they would henceforth be fishers of men. The divergence is here more marked than usual, but we shall meet it frequently, and strange as it may seem, it is not unhelpful from an evidential point of view. It shows that we have independent narratives, which are yet substantially the same. In other words, we have several witnesses to our Lord's life and miracles, not merely one, and our grounds for believing them are trebly sure.

JAPANESE PATRIOTISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

‘Christianity has a mission to the East, and the East will bring to light new views of Christianity.’¹

‘No other troops in the world could do it,’ write the war correspondents as they watch the unflinching sacrifice of life by which the Russian positions are won. There is something different here from the fanatical rush into the jaws of death in the hope of attaining paradise hereafter, which we saw in the Egyptian war; and the off-hand explanation is given, that ‘the Japanese do not value their lives.’ Is there a man upon earth, except those whose career has been marred by some abnormal circumstance, who does not value his life, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of others? Life in beautiful Japan is too bright and cheerful for men to wish to part with it; unmarried men are few, and paternal affection is strong. We are not surprised to find in such a land that the hope of a paradise as a motive is practically non-existent. No; the Japanese loves his life, but he loves his country more.

Strange to say, Japanese patriotism in its present form is a development almost of yesterday. A temporary resident in Tokio calls his native province his *Kuni*; he uses the same word when he wishes to mention Japan, his own country, or the countries of England or Italy. For until recently the ‘country’ of Japan had no place in the thoughts or language of the people. In feudal times the province, the clan, the lord, was everything; the country, the nation, the Emperor, almost nothing. But it was among the constantly recurring civil disturbances of those days that the principle of *Bushido* (the way of the warrior) had its birth. Naturally enough, the

¹ *The Interpreter*, Vol. I., p. 9.

military virtues became the ideal. The scorn of cowardice and emotion, the contempt of meanness and the handling of money in any form, and above all, devotion, or the subordination of the self to the community, were inculcated upon generation after generation, not only of the fighting class, but in their degree upon all; upon women and children no less than upon men. Each retainer, or *Samurai*, knew it to be his duty to do and to suffer, even unto death, in order to maintain or to extend the honour of his lord. Thus the Bushi, the Samurai, or the knight, as he was variously called, became the pattern gentleman; and, in this respect, contrasts widely with the custom of China, where the soldier class is the lowest, and the profession of arms despised. The stories told in the family circle on winter evenings, or in the innumerable *haseba* (public story-telling halls), with few exceptions, deal with historical incidents of chivalry or devotion on the part of some member of a Samurai family.

From devotion to lord and clan to devotion to Emperor and country was a long step. How it came about we cannot now show, it is sufficient to state the fact. The same spirit of Bushido re-appears alike in the integrity of those responsible in Japan for the supply of military and commissariat material (in such striking contrast to the methods prevalent in China and Russia, her successive enemies), and in the willingness to cast away life itself before the Russian entrenchments. Beyond question, the war, and the devotion of her soldiers, is proving a blessing to Japan, in recalling her from the career of materialism and money-making into which on the opening up of the country she began to plunge, to the chivalrous ideals of the old days; just as to Russia new prospects of freedom are opening under the same influences.

Thus is *Bushido* the unwritten moral standard of Japan. In a country where no authoritative teacher is recognised, which possesses no sacred books, there conscience is the sole guide; yet not the individual conscience, except so far as it is enlightened by, and in harmony with, the conscience of the

nation. Not a man, but mankind, Socrates taught, is the measure of all things; not a Japanese man, but Japanese mankind, is the measure of all things, according to *Bushido*.

Akin to *Bushido* is *Shinto*; *to* and *do* are the same word, meaning 'path' or 'way,' the *Shin* (roughly speaking) are the spirits of the Bushi or heroes, whose example or 'way' is to be followed by all who wish to be numbered with them beyond the grave; to whose guidance and assistance the glorious achievements of Japan are theoretically due. It is vastly more potent as an ethical than as a religious system. When Admiral Togo addressed the spirits of Port Arthur heroes, he hardly supposed that they were gathered to listen in the temple of Tokio. His words were rather those of apostrophe, for the benefit of the living, than of harangue of the dead. Yet the appeal supplied by *Shinto* to the religious instincts of mankind is a powerful support to the moral suasion of *Bushido*.

Here then are the principles that nurtured the troops who did things which 'no other troops in the world could do'; principles purely national—a national code of morals, devotion to national interests, a cult of national saints. There is not another so strongly nationalistic people in the world as the Japanese. And behold the fruits!

Now the Missionary offers to Japan a Catholic instead of a National system. The national conscience—the heritage of ages of civil war—he would supplement by the conscience of the Church, which has been trained under all manner of circumstances, of weal and woe, in all countries. Devotion to country would be made complete by devotion to the Son of Man, who gathers up all mankind into Himself; this devotion would thus extend to the children of men in every land. To the stimulus and example of a host of just Japanese made perfect, would be added that of the saints, of every kingdom and tongue and clime; and for the guidance of the spirits of bygone heroes would be substituted the leading of the God of the spirits of all flesh. Should the Japanese army become

Christian to-morrow, would its *morale* be weakened, or strengthened? With a widening and extension of ideals, would the intension of devotion become less?

Alas! looking at ourselves, we have to confess that there is no such devotion in England as in Japan. Contrast the average Englishman, with his insobriety, his love of ease, his selfishness, his indifference, his readiness to shirk his duty, with the average Japanese; there can be no doubt which stands the better in the trial. Would that the Englishman could be brought to devote himself to anything whatever outside of himself, with the same zeal that the Japanese devotes himself to his country's good.

We must not attribute this to any inherent weakness in Christianity. The Bible teems with lessons of patriotism; and without any doubt strong nations are as truly necessary units in the brotherhood of mankind, as are strong individuals. True, the Christian Faith teaches a heightened respect for the individual, and gives a higher value to life; but these things do not weaken, but enlighten, patriotism as the following facts will tend to show. The Russian Bishop Nicolai, at the outbreak of the war, urged upon his flock that they should show themselves to be good Christians by laying down their lives, if necessary, for their friends; and the behaviour of the Greek Christian scout caught in Manchuria suggests that they obeyed him. The Bishop did indeed but voice the appeals, based on Christian principles, made in every church and religious newspaper in Japan. Again, during the Chinese war, the Commander of the Fukuoka contingent, not himself a Christian, wished that all his troops were such as those whom he knew to be Christians. For they were no less brave than their comrades, while they showed a steadiness, and an indisposition to risk their lives uselessly, which made them more valuable to their country. And this is just what we should expect.

No, it is not that Christianity produces less strong characters than *Shinto*. The whole history of Europe belies the charge. If it were true, Christianity could have no Mission

to the East. It is rather that Japan is bringing to light a view of Christianity which is old, and yet new. For if the Bible is full of lessons of patriotism, so is it full of lessons of unselfish devotion and noble self-denial, and it records sacrifices which are not made in war alone, though it is in war that these things most clearly show themselves, and by war that they are stimulated. What possible meaning has our Faith but union in will with the Crucified? What possible standard of motive does Christianity offer except that of unselfishness, that is, of Christ-likeness? But England's prosperity has combined with the selfishness of the natural man, in making men shut their eyes to the very core and heart of Christianity; so that the Christian life has come to be regarded as a comfortable way of 'going to Heaven,' while the discipline, the asceticism (in St. Paul's sense of the word) which it involves, is forgotten. The war in South Africa ought to have recalled us to our principles, as this war is recalling the Japanese; but while we applauded our 'thin red line of heroes,' we have not learnt, each in his own vocation and ministry, to share their spirit. Shall we need the European Armagedon which some predict, or a crushing disaster at the hands of Japan which the future may bring upon us, to teach us to be Christians? For the day may come when, if we have not learnt our lessons from Japan as friends, we shall have to learn it with her foot upon our neck.

HERBERT MOORE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

OUR LORD'S BIRTH.

SIR,—May I venture to make two suggestions by way of supplement to the admirable article on "The Birth of Christ in the New Testament?" (1) In the first place, it is surely significant that, in St. Luke's account of the births of St. John the Baptist and our Lord, the angel Gabriel appears in the former case to Zacharias, the future father, and in the latter to Mary, the future mother.

(2) The perplexing circumstance that both St. Matthew and St. Luke, while asserting the Virgin-Birth, give a genealogy of Joseph, is fully explained by the peculiar recognition given in the East to an adopted son, of whom the person adopting cannot get rid. Our Lord's Messiahship, then, would be both naturally and effectively established by tracing His descent to David through Joseph, whose 'son' he had become in the full legal sense of the term. I enclose my card.

Yours faithfully,

"STUDENT."

OUR LORD'S REFERENCE TO JONAH.

SIR,—Is it possible that our Lord's reference to Jonah requires no learned and ingenious explanation for the simple reason that He never Himself used the language which has been attributed to Him by commentators on Matt. xii. 40? May it not be that that verse was an exegetical interpolation added afterwards by one who was always ready with such Old Testament adaptations? The context seems strongly to favour this view of the case, and the reference to the 'whale's belly' part of the Jonah story appears quite outside the drift of Jesus' discourse.

He was answering the desire of the Pharisees for a 'sign' by telling them that the only sign that would be given them was of the nature of that appeal to the conscience of the Ninevites, through the preaching of Jonah, which led to their repentance, and that both the Ninevites and the Queen of Sheba were witnesses against the Jews in that their faith in the reports made to them had been clearly evidenced by very practical results. The men of Nineveh repented. The Queen of Sheba came a long journey to hear the wisdom of Solomon. The Pharisees turned a deaf ear, although a greater than Jonah or Solomon was appealing to them. In Matt. xvi. 4. they are told again that 'an evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; but there shall no sign be given unto it but the sign of Jonah.' Here not a word is said as to the 'sign of Jonah' being anything beyond his preaching.

In Luke xi. 29—32, where the parallel passage to Matt. xii. 40 is given, there is no hint that Jesus made any reference whatever to Jonah's sojourn in the whale's belly, but He is said to have expressly stated that it was *to the Ninevites* that Jonah became a 'sign.' Nothing, therefore, but his preaching could be meant, and the time spent by him in the interior of the fish could have no intelligible bearing on the case.

So regarded Matt. xii. 40 seems not only on interpolation, but an unfortunate one since it has been accepted as forming part of our Lord's discourse, whereas it only confuses its drift. But it need not be the least surprising that a writer whose ideas of the connection between Old Testament prophecy and its fulfilment are illustrated by his references in Matt. i. 22, 23, ii. 15, 18, 23, xxvii. 9, &c., should not lose the opportunity of extending the Jonah lesson beyond what was intended by the Master.

These are but the suggestions of an enquirer to whom they seem a more satisfactory solution of the main part of the problem than any other. The 'three days and three nights' might after all not seem to the minds of many early Christian writers to be an unmanageable bit of allegory. But however this may be, there can at least be no proving that Matt. xii. 40 contains the actual words of Christ.

C. S.

REVIEWS.

A History of the English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.¹ By the Rev. W. H. FRERE, M.A. This is the fifth volume of the series edited by Dr. Hunt and the late Dr. Stephens, and it keeps up the high average set by the preceding volumes. Mr. Frere must have found it no easy task to compress within 400 pages the events of his period; but the lucidity of the narrative has nowhere suffered from its terseness. Perhaps, if any complaint is to be made, it is that no general summary is given of the results achieved in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign. The history of those years is exceedingly confused, and, although Mr. Frere has very wisely neglected smaller issues, and confined himself principally to the broad questions under debate, yet it would have made matters easier for the student, if a short chapter had been inserted summarizing the stages of reform up to the year 1571.

The book, though fascinating to read, is not easy to master; it is intended for the serious student, and anybody who expects to derive from it the maximum of knowledge with the minimum of trouble will be disappointed. But this fact only makes the volume.

¹ *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (1558—1625).* By the Rev. W. H. Frere, M.A. Crown 8vo., 413 pages. 7s. 6d. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

a more valuable contribution to the history of the English Church. Some of the author's judgments will appear novel; he himself warns us of this in the Preface. For instance, his estimates of Parker and Whitgift are rather different to those that have long prevailed; he lays much more stress on the firmness of Parker and the moderation of Whitgift than has usually been the case. Many again will learn with some surprise of the deterioration which took place under the *régime* of James I. and Archbishop Abbot; it was not, it is true, a degradation of religion; but the position of the English Church in the political strife of the time was becoming less dignified and stable. The Church, as Mr. Frere points out, lost caste with the people by identifying itself with James' political claims; and the way was prepared for the violent political reaction against the ecclesiastical system, which marked the succeeding reign. But, although such verdicts may appear new to many readers, or may strike them in a new way as expounded here, Mr. Frere will hardly find them generally disputed. He has obviously soaked himself in the original documents; indeed he seemed in a few cases, perhaps unconsciously, to have been affected by their very language, and he occasionally uses words like "contrariant" without quotation-marks as if he had even in language identified himself with the past. And not only are the author's conclusions based on a careful study of the authorities and a painstaking estimate of them, but he states them with a remarkable fairness and want of prejudice. Although it is, of course, impossible and undesirable that he should not have his own standpoint, and although it is easy to infer what that standpoint is, yet the narrative is always scrupulously impartial. The book is in short a history in the best sense of the word, not an *ex parte* arrangement of facts; and from this cause, as well as from the greater range of original authorities on which it is based, it will probably supersede all previous accounts of the same period.

Of course, everybody will draw his own lessons from the history, and Mr. Frere would not desire to dictate deductions to his readers. If he presents facts in such a way that they lead to certain deductions rather than to others, that is after all due perhaps to the facts and not to the historian. Mr. Frere takes too much trouble to state the facts and give the reason of his judgments for any reader to suppose that he is only maintaining a predetermined view. It, therefore, becomes instructive to see what general conclusions this book suggests; and they may perhaps be summed up under three heads:—firstly, the impolitic behaviour of the Papal Court. If the Pope had shown any readiness to respond to overtures, an overt breach with Rome might have been avoided; at any rate, religious toleration in England might have had a very different history. The story of the Jesuit movement and of the Papal dealings with the Archpriest Blackwell are striking evidence of Rome's shortsighted-

ness. Secondly, the intemperate unwisdom of Parliament in both reigns; extreme measures, severity, and persecution are seen to be the work of Parliament much more than of anybody else. This tendency was checked by Elizabeth's wisdom and the firmness of Parker and Whitgift, only to develop with redoubled force through the tactless mismanagement of James I. and the inept mediocrity of Abbot. And, thirdly, when this tendency of Parliament is contrasted with the moderation of the ecclesiastical authorities, as revealed by Mr. Frere, and the actual course of events is considered, a very convincing refutation is provided to the common sneer that the English Church is a 'House of Parliament Church.' It is seen how far this is from being the case, and what a very real power in the work of organization was exercised by the Bishops and by convocation. Such inferences may not commend themselves to all who read this book, but they can only be refuted by disproving Mr. Frere's facts and rebutting his arguments, and this will not be an easy achievement. Mr. Frere has done a great service to history; he has also done a great service to the English Church.

Elementary Schools.¹ By W. FOXLEY NORRIS, M.A. The man who essays to write on the education question sets before him a difficult and perilous task: many have written and few are qualified to write. And yet there are certain well defined principles and positive facts which are frequently ignored and can never be too strongly urged. They are commonplaces to some, but they are fresh truth to many more, and the object of this book is to place them in the hands of those who are sorely in need of their assistance. It is to familiarise busy men with these facts and principles, in the various departments of study and affairs with which they deal, that this series is designed, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the able way in which their task has been performed.

But to turn to the book, Canon Norris reminds us that the Church undertook the education of the children when there was none else to perform the task. It was her purpose to continue the work until the State was alive to its responsibility, and, as we are told, the State is still in the act of *taking over* a part of the work which really lies within its province, and for which it is daily growing more fit.

There is a widespread craving for uniformity which is often shallow and unscientific; a craving which ignores the facts and looks for a quick road to simplicity. Thus to many minds it seems that the evils they see in the dual system—the system which recognises two kinds of elementary schools, the Voluntary and the Council Schools—may be overcome by '*the* one simple and obvious remedy.' The

¹ *Elementary Schools.* By W. Foxley Norris, M.A. Crown 8vo. 2/6.
(Longmans, Green & Co., London).

factor they ignore is that this dual system is the outcome of past history. Voluntary schools existed before the State began to act and have since been built with the full belief that, if their conduct met the approval of Government Inspectors, the State would assist in their maintenance. For the State in the present circumstances to deprive them of the benefits it promised to grant would be a great injustice to all the sects who have availed themselves of the prospects it held out.

The great difficulties which cluster round the religious aspect of education have been met by two proposals which Canon Norris rightly holds to be impossible and impracticable. The proposal that any catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination should be abolished would end, as one has wittily said, by allowing men to teach anything they like, so long as they do not teach anything that anyone believes. The other proposal, that religious instruction should be given at stated times by the several denominations, is weak in that it overlooks the great principal that religion and life are one and cannot be separated; religion is the tone which elevates the whole, and not merely a subject to be learned. Such a proposal reveals a confusion of thought in those who make it between education and instruction.

The great practical difficulty of the church, in the matter of education, is to procure and adequately train the teachers in her schools, and to that, and other incidental matters in connection with elementary education, the remaining chapters of this useful book are devoted.

Stephen Remarx.¹ By the Rev. and Hon. JAMES ADDERLEY. This is a delightful little book and will well repay perusal. The churchman who must endure the affliction of a long journey by rail could pleasantly beguile the hours of travel if he purchased a sixpenny copy of Mr. Adderley's 'tract.' It is a witty, if a caustic, exposure of evils which abound in fashionable church circles and among various types of churchmen. Mr. Adderley hits out all round, and does not spare his own school; but we think the identity of at least one of the persons whom he caricatures is too thinly veiled for our liking. At all events, most of the personages mentioned in this 'tract' are drawn from life, and we wonder how many of Mr. Adderley's own experiences adorn its pages. The booklet well deserves the large circulation it has secured.

The Psalter in English Verse (Keble).² Those of us who live south of the Tweed for eleven months in the year and go north in the twelfth, are periodically reminded of the fact that the

¹ *Stephen Remarx: The Story of a Christian Venture.* By James Adderley. 12th and cheaper edition. Paper covers, 6d. net. (S. C. Brown Langham & Co.)

² *The Psalter in English Verse.* By John Keble. Edited by Vernon Stanley. Master's Christian Classics. 2 vols. 32 mo. (S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.)

Scots have different notions as to how the Psalms should be worded for public worship than are current among ourselves. Whatever may be said of the advantages of having the Psalms sung in rhyming verse, there is no doubt that the current Scotch version is often crude to modern ears: at the least it is humourously quaint. Had Keble been a Scots Worthy instead of High Church Anglican, we have our suspicions that his excellent attempt at giving the Psalter in more refined verse might have been adopted by the present-day progressive Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, to the exclusion of the older version. As it is, however, we find the Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness, is the editor of this latest edition of Keble's work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.¹

The Visions of Zechariah: Addresses at a Retreat. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury. London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co. 8vo., 140 pp.

The Newly-found Words of Jesus: Discourses by W. GARRETT HORDER. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co. 8vo., 120 pp.

The Voice of the Fathers. By S. F. A. CAULFIELD; with an Introduction by LORD HALIFAX. 198 pp., 2s. 6d. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.

Sermons from Browning. By F. EALAND, M.A., Vicar of St. Luke's, Hornsey. 180 pp. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.

Christ and Criticism. By JOHN GAMBLE, M.A. 150 pp., 3s. 6d. London and Newcastle-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Limited.

The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament. By ARTHUR S. PRAKE, M.A., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 193 pp., 2s. 6d. London: Robert Bryant, Aldersgate Street, E.C.

Ecclesia Discens: Occasional Sermons and Addresses. By ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON, M.A., Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. 166 pp. London: Francis Griffiths, 34, Maiden Lane, Strand.

Sunday Talks with Girls. By RAYMOND JACBERNS. 162 pp. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.

Lay Hold on Eternal Life: A series of Addresses given to Children during a Parochial Mission. By the Rev. C. R. DAVEY BIGGS, D.D. 93 pp., 1s. 6d. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.

Good Friday: The Seven Last Words. By ARTHUR J. GAMMACK, Rector of Christ Church, West Haven, Conn., U.S.A. 67 pp., 2s. 6d. net. Longmans, Green & Co.

St. Paul the Master Builder. By Rev. WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College, Oxford. 124 pp., 3s. 6d. Methuen & Co.

Some Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 74 pp., 6d. Longmans, Green & Co.

New Knowledge of Old Methods. By Rev. G. S. STREATFIELD, M.A. 2d. London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons, 4, Snow Hill, E.C.

¹ This notice does not prevent a longer review in a subsequent issue.

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Regeneration in Baptism—Conversion and Subsequent Repentance essential—The Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist—The Trinity in Unity—The Godhead of Christ and of the Holy Ghost—The Doctrine of Free Will—The Resurrection of the Body—The Immediate Happiness and Rest of "the Dead in Christ"—Future Recognition—Unanimous Acceptance of the whole Canon of Scripture—The "Communion of Saints," *i.e.*, The Invocation of Saints and Prayers for the Departed—The Use of the Chrism (in Baptism)—Obedience to the Bishops—Divine Healing by Faith and Prayer, apart from ordinary and legitimate means—Use and Veneration of Relics—Reverence of Churches and Altars—Beautiful and Distinctive Vestments—Ritual, *i.e.*, The Sign of the Cross, Turning to the East; Antiphonal Singing, &c.—Reprobation of any Private Interpretation—Reprobation of Religious Persecution and Intolerance—Primitive Tradition—Confession.

LIST of AUTHORITIES.

Beverage—Bickersteth—Bingham—Burton—Birks—Cave—Dakin—Jameson—Lardner—Manning—Millman—Mosheim—Neale—Newman—Pearson—Pusey—Stillingfleet—Usher—Wake—Wall, &c.

Basnage—Baronius—Du Pin—Eusebius—Fleury—Palladius—Photius—Ruinart—Socrates—Sozomen—Theodoret—Valesius—and others.

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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things ?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Resurrection of Our Lord.

At a time when the thoughts of Christendom are concentrated with a specially close attention upon the great event which we commemorate on Easter Day, it is peculiarly fitting that we should devote a portion of this issue to the task of reviewing some of the historical evidence by which it is maintained. So deeply do we feel the importance of clear views upon this, the central fact of Christianity, that in our efforts to present lines of thought which we venture to hope may not be wholly ungrateful, our remarks have overflowed the narrow compass of a note and have been expanded on a later page.

It is of great importance, however, in approaching the question of our Lord's resurrection, to consider the limits by which our appreciation of its significance, and of the possibility of its occurrence, will be circumscribed. Like so many other matters of religious belief and experience, we cannot prove to one and all that the event is historical. Religion is not a system

of mathematics. But may we not also say, that many scientific theories which receive almost universal acceptance are not capable of demonstration with mathematical precision. They are frequently put forward as working hypotheses, and only maintain their position because they are found to offer the best explanation of existing facts. So it is with the great subject before us here. The traditional belief that the Lord rose on the third day is the only solution which gives anything approaching to a reasonable explanation of the scriptural narratives, or accounts for the existence of the Christian Church, and the experience of its members from the time of St. Paul to the present day.

There was an economy in our Lord's appearances after He rose which is most striking: He came to the believer alone, for he only was possessed of the nature to perceive or profit by His approach. It is to His own disciples that the Lord appears to bring comfort, and instil the strength which is born of a joyous hope. He would crown the faith of the timid followers, and make the schemes they had devised to test His real return seem poor and weak, but He would not force the belief of men who had never sought to follow in His steps. The empty tomb was visible to all: the Risen Lord appeared but to the faithful few.

Holtzmann's 'Life of Jesus.'

There are two qualities which, when found in conjunction in the human mind, invariably lead to a great advance in the search for truth. The man who combines a mastery of detail and a full appreciation of the limits of fact, with a creative imagination which perceives the mutual relations of phenomena and lays bare the laws by which they are co-ordinated, we rightly appraise as a genius. Such a man in the realms of science was Charles Darwin, and perhaps to no other thinker of the 19th century does modern thought owe a deeper debt of gratitude than to the great biologist. He possessed a fine and broad imagination which enabled him to leave the beaten

tracks, but he controlled it by a stupendous knowledge and a close adhesion to facts, which saved him from the pitfalls which await the rash.

As we read the book of Professor Holtzmann, we are unable to repress the feeling that it was written by a man who was too intent upon his theory to rightly weigh the evidence, who creates more difficulties than those which he seeks to remove. To be explicit, Professor Holtzmann's treatment of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is so obviously based upon the assumption that a literal resurrection is out of the question, that we look for weighty reasons in support of his contention. But we look in vain.' The facts are not adduced to support the assertion, they are rather strangely distorted lest their recognition should disprove it. The most colossal assumptions are made, and vast issues are caused to hang on very slender threads. Perhaps the feature which causes most astonishment is the ignorance of human nature that imputes motives and thoughts which the practical man will at once discard as absurd.

We would illustrate our criticism by reference to the Professor's explanation of the empty tomb. He informs us that this empty tomb is the burden of the earliest account in the Evangelists, and that no appearance of our Lord is recorded until a later time. Then he proceeds to say that the body must have been removed from its resting place, and the only one to whom he can assign the act is Joseph of Arimathæa. He conceives that the rich ruler would be unwilling that a crucified body should permanently lie in the family tomb, and that he caused it to be secretly conveyed elsewhere. It is hard to see how Professor Holtzmann finds the least support for this estimate of Joseph, from what we know of the latter's character. Devotion and courage must have been striking features in a man who could champion a failing cause, and show pity to One who had lost the sympathy of the multitude; and we fancy that courage and devotion would be reinforced by reverence. To charge so mean an act to so fine a character seems highly

unwarrantable. But even if we could suppose that through some strange scruple Joseph had removed the body of the Lord, it is incredible that he should allow the story of the resurrection, which must soon have reached his ears, to pass without remark and without rebuke.

Another passage which we feel bound to contest assumes that the women were in a state of high-strung religious enthusiasm and expectancy after seeing the empty tomb and remembering the Lord's oft-repeated assertion that He would rise on the third day. This, we are told, prepared them to see a vision, and the vision they regarded as a pledge that Jesus would rise again, and be seen of His disciples in Galilee. This vision is described as the fact of the first Easter Sunday. Similarly were all the subsequent appearances of a visionary character. But the assumption which lies at the basis of all this argument is plainly at variance with the facts: we have no warrant for thinking that either the women or the apostles were in any state of high-strung religious expectancy. Indeed one of the striking features of these narratives is the cautious attitude which prevented the little band of disciples and followers from accepting the fact, until they had the most sure proof of its reality. Like the two on the road to Emmaus, they were slow of heart to believe. Thomas, we may not unreasonably suppose, reproduced, in an exaggerated form, the state of incredulity from which the remainder had been raised when they saw the Lord. And no one was further from high strung religious enthusiasm and expectancy than Thomas, with the crude but matter-of-fact tests, by which alone he declared he could be convinced. The disciples were plain men; as their character is seen in the Gospels they often appear painfully unimaginative: they were no visionaries.

In fact the whole visionary theory is beset with difficulties on every hand. The wonderful fitness and restraint of the manifestations, the appearance to different minds at the same moment, the length of time during which they took place, and the earnestness and the state of sober but resolute

enthusiasm in which they left the apostles, are all features which seem to demand for their explanation the view which the Church has always held.

Lingering Superstitions.

It is an interesting study to trace the continuance of pagan customs in Christian communities, long after their early meaning has been lost in the obscurity of many centuries. In rural districts more than among the shifting populations of large towns the superstitions linger on, and it seldom occurs to those who observe them to inquire into the origin from which they sprang. In every department of life the phenomena due to the same principle, which is to be seen at work in this particular case, may be observed. Numberless examples must occur to the inquiring mind, where the form remains long after the function it fulfilled has ceased to exist.

Customs which are connected with the religious beliefs of a people are the last to die, and as we said before, the old ideas retain currency, and the old habits persist, longer in country places than in the thick centres of population. Sometimes religious leaders have been unable to root up the remembrance of a long settled practice, and have given to its performance a new significance. An illustration of this process of inverted custom is to be found, we believe, in our own land, in the superstition which holds it unlucky to see a solitary jackdaw. In the pagan past the jackdaw was sacred to Thor or some other Norse God, and to see it was an omen of good luck; in Norway to this very day the sight is considered fortunate. It would seem that the early Christian teachers introduced the thought of ill-luck, that they might wean the attention of their converts from the heathen god.

If then the form of pagan practices remains long in Christian lands and even under the disturbing influence of modern times, we need feel no surprise to discover a similar tendency in the Hebrew race. To ignore the existence of the older religious ideas is foolish: to think that when they were

fully recognised as heathen in origin, and contrary to the pure religion of Jehovah, they would be permitted to pass unrebuked, is equally absurd. As the religious development of the Jew progressed, many old practices were discarded or transformed. We are everywhere struck by the efforts which were made by the more enlightened leaders to obscure the old cult and awaken new associations for the observance of ancient rites, and the sanctity of particular localities.

Traces of Pre-Mosaic Religion among the Israelites.

To trace these ancient observances in the Old Testament narratives, and to examine the later thoughts which deprived them of all harmful tendency, is worth the trouble it involves, and enables us at once to observe the progress from the old to the new, and estimate the moral advance which followed the revelation of Jehovah's character. A copious literature is devoted to this research, but the allusions are often incidental and a compact summary may be found in part of Prof. Kautzsch's long and admirable article on the Religion of Israel in Dr. Hastings' extra volume of his *Bible Dictionary*.

Some of the most interesting customs of all lands, and those which longest retain a hold over the popular imagination, are funeral rites, and in Israel relics of ancient *Animism*, or the belief in the activity of recently deceased relatives, are not uncommonly to be observed. In the primitive belief these spirits were always conceived as harmful, and great efforts were made to render the relations of the deceased person unlike their usual selves, in order that they might escape the danger of recognition. To achieve this end the mourners cut their hair and gashed their flesh; they discarded their clothes and sat in places where they were not wont to be seen. In the Old Testament there is a curious blending of passages which bear indirectly upon these funeral rites; some features are condemned, others half recognised. The natural explanation is

that in proportion as they were felt to be harmful to the true religion of Jehovah they were condemned, but where at any particular time they were felt to have no evil tendency they were suffered to continue undisturbed.

In Leviticus xix. 28, xxi. 5, the Israelites were strictly forbidden to shave a bald patch on their heads, to mutilate their beards, or to inflict bodily wounds upon their persons. On the other hand, in Numbers xix. 14, 15, there is a curious instance of the survival of one of the most remarkable features of Animistic belief. In very primitive times it was thought that the spirit on its departure from the body would seek to locate itself somewhere about the house, and to prevent it from doing so all vessels with open mouths were carefully closed. In the passage in Numbers to which we have just referred, we have a distinct reminiscence of this ancient practice, for we there learn that any vessel which might happen to stand near a dead body, and which had not its mouth closed with a cover, and fastened by a string, was to be reckoned unclean.

Like the druid circles in our own land there were certain spots which to the ancient dwellers in Palestine had a sacred significance. No one can read the Old Testament without being struck by the number of sacred sites. Sometimes it was a tree or a pillar, at other times a raised place or a spring, which had been invested from time immemorial with special sanctity. The book of Genesis abounds with them; the terebinth of Moreh and Mamre, the pillars which were linked with Jacob's name at Bethel and Shechem and Gilead, and many more. We may attribute the mention, in many places, to the effort to give the sanctity of Jehovah worship to a time honoured object or locality.

In various lands and among primitive peoples we notice a disposition to regard certain trees with their rustling leaves as the dispensers of oracles or omens, and in Palestine to this

day the peasants hang rags upon the oaks as homage to the spirits whom they suppose to have their habitation there. The names of the patriarchs are frequently linked with these sacred sites, and a new sanctity is thus granted to them. Sometimes this sanctity is derived from one source and sometimes from another. The tree and the pillar at Shechem seem to have derived their sacred character according to one writer, from Joshua, according to another, from Abraham. In Joshua xxiv. 26, it was the warlike successor of Moses who set up the sacred stone under the oak in the sanctuary of Jehovah. In Judges ix. 6, we read of 'the oak of the pillar that was by Shechem' which distinctly implies that the sacred stone stood from the first in connection with the tree (it is the oak of the pillar not the pillar of the oak.) And yet from Genesis xii. 6, we learn that the sacred tree was in existence as 'the directing terebinth' (the oak of Moreh) even in the days of Abraham. If this apparent existence of a double tradition growing up around a locality was unique, we might feel a difficulty in the passage, but as a matter of fact it is a phenomenon frequently to be observed, and many instances are more striking than the one which we mention here because it refers to our special point. Compare, for instance, the two narratives in Genesis xxi. 22-34 and Genesis xxvi. 26-33 'which read like variations of a single fundamental theme.' The same incident is attributed now to Abraham and now to Isaac. Even if we could suppose that two kings named Abimelech could follow one another on the throne of Gerar, and the dispute over the well could twice occur, yet we must agree with Professor Sayce that it does not seem very possible that 'each of these kings should have had 'a "chief captain of his host" called by the strange non-Semitic name of Phicol; that each of them should have taken 'the wife of the patriarch, believing her to be his sister; or that 'Beersheba should twice have received the same name from the 'oaths sworn over it.'

The Recent Discovery in Egypt.

It is strange that within a few days of the publication of the March *Interpreter* an important Egyptian discovery should be announced in *The Times*, which bears directly upon our article relating to the Tablets of Tell el Amarna. We refer to the discovery of the tomb of Yua and Thua, the parents of the famous Queen Teie, the wife of Amen-hoteb III. and the mother of the reforming King Amen-hoteb IV., which was made near the tombs of Ramses IV. and Ramses XII., by Mr. Davies on Sunday, February 12th.

It is the most important discovery which has yet fallen to the lot of an Egyptian explorer, and is fraught with a deeply human interest. The very existence of the tomb recalls the bitterness of heart of the low-born Queen Teie, whose father and mother, Yua and Thua, while alive, were never received in the circles of the aristocracy, but on their death enjoyed the honours of a royal burial. Since the age of the 18th Dynasty the chamber has been left untouched. It is small, and its walls are rough and void of ornament, but from end to end it had been filled with the choicest relics of Egypt's most prosperous days. Among the innumerable goods which lay piled in rich profusion were gold-encrusted mummy cases, richly modelled chairs with palm fibre seats, and even a chariot thickly overlaid with plates of gold and trapped with leather as fresh as when first it was attached.

The discovery goes far to support the conclusions of Assyriologists that Queen Teie was of Mesopotamian descent. The names of her parents are written in various ways, and their spelling and pronunciation were perplexing to the Egyptian artizan. When we read in the Tablets of Tell el Amarna that 'gold was plentiful as dust in Egypt' we can well believe that the statement was true, for there are few objects which are not adorned with the precious metal that had been carried from the desert mines.

We have had occasion elsewhere to mention the persistence of funeral rites, and this sepulchre may afford a curious

illustration of the remote antiquity of our custom of wearing crape in memory of the dead. Over the gilded mask of a mummy is drawn a veil of crape. To one object in particular we wish to call attention, for it is filled with a pathetic interest, and is also important in view of our remarks upon the hope of immortality. A figure shaped in soft mould was placed on a mat of palm fibre; seeds were strewn on the mould and the tomb door sealed. The living, springing grass was to the Egyptian mind an emblem of the resurrection upon which they stayed their hope.

The Russian Church.

Russia figures largely in the public eye at the present time, and many caustic remarks are being made about a type of Christianity which can permit the unchristian aggressiveness that has lately marked her conduct in the Far East. We cannot help feeling that it is somewhat unjust to lay the foreign policy of a handful of Ministers, and the vacillating attitude of a few Bishops who owe their appointment to the Czar, to the charge of the Christian conscience of a great land. This seems especially unjust when we remember the absence of all popular enthusiasm in the prosecution of the present war. Doubtless the Russian Church has its worthy as well as its ignoble elements, and its strength may be quite as real as its weakness, though at the present time it is less conspicuous. Many of its unpleasant features are due to the peculiarity of its ecclesiastical constitution, concerning which the average Englishman is surprisingly ignorant.

It was in 992 A.D. that Russia, under Prince Vladimir, accepted Christianity, and it long remained, in ecclesiastical affairs, subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But in 1582 the Russian Metropolitan was raised to the Patriarchal dignity, and he and subsequent Patriarchs became possessed of an enormous influence. The Patriarchate, however, was brought abruptly to an end by the arbitrary action of Peter the Great,

who, in 1721, established *The Holy Governing Synod of all the Russias* to perform the functions which had attached to the extinct office. This Synod is composed of five or six Bishops, who act in conjunction with one or two other ecclesiastics, and several laymen, and all its members owe their appointment to the Czar.

There are many features which the Russian and English Churches have in common: each is a national Church, each possesses an open Bible, and each has a married clergy. The last statement, however, needs some qualification. The lower clergy are permitted to have wives, but the marriage must have taken place before they received Priests' Orders. The clergy are divided into two classes, the Regular, who live in the monasteries, and the Secular or Parish Priests. The former are popularly known as the Black, and the latter as the White Priests. The Bishops are only chosen from the monasteries.

To be a Parish Priest in Russia is not to dwell at ease. There is a constant routine of services, and as the form of these differs from day to day, the mastery of the service books is no light task. Two hundred and twenty-six days in the year are marked by fasts and each is sternly observed: meat, eggs, cheese and fish are, on these occasions, rigorously eschewed.

Doctrinally, the Russian Church is at one with the Orthodox Greek Church, and the ecclesiastically independent position which it shares with the Churches of Servia, Roumania, Greece and Montenegro, is mainly due to the fact that the Turkish Sultans, after the conquest of Constantinople, retained the right of investiture on the election of a new Patriarch. The Russian people would not acknowledge the headship of a Bishop who owed his appointment to their traditional enemy.

CHRISTIAN WISDOM AS DEFINED *BY ST. JAMES.*

The Epistle of St. James is the Epistle of Christian wisdom as applied to the details of daily life, and this thought which pervades the whole Epistle bursts into complete expression in the great description of the wisdom that cometh from above. 'The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, 'gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, 'without variance, without hypocrisy' (R.V.). This description bears the same relation to the whole Epistle as the hymn of love in 1 Corinthians xiii. bears to the whole of 1 Corinthians: it brings out into clear, beautiful, inspired utterance the central note of the writer's thought, and each passage needs for its full understanding a constant reference back to the chapters which precede it. I propose, then, to examine this description in order to discover the exact meaning of each adjective, all of which the writer has evidently chosen with great care.

But before doing this, it will be well to remind ourselves that the whole may be half consciously based upon an earlier description of wisdom, that given in the Wisdom of Solomon vii. 22-24. 'There is in wisdom a spirit of quick understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, unharmed, loving what is good, keen, unhindered, beneficent, loving toward man, steadfast, sure, free from cares, all-powerful, all-surveying, penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure and most subtil; for wisdom is more mobile than any motion, yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by her pureness.' Now the intimate acquaintance which St. James shews with the Book of Wisdom (Cf. Mayor, pp. lxxv., lxxvi., Knowling, p. 16) may make us feel confident that he was aware of this description, and in the epithets 'holy,' 'clear in utterance,' 'beneficent,' 'loving towards men,' 'steadfast,' 'sure,' there are points of

real unity of thought. Yet the differences are more marked than the similarities, and there may be two reasons for this. In the first place, the conception of the Book of Wisdom is mainly intellectual, it is the description of Wisdom as sitting by the throne of God in heaven, it is akin to the Platonic Idea of the World, it is the philosopher's ideal, the source of his inspiration and insight; whereas the whole purpose of St. James' Epistle is practical, he is thinking of Wisdom as coming down from heaven to mix among men, to teach them the truths of God, to teach them how to face the troubles and perplexities of life (i. 5), to train them to be worthy of the Christian name of 'brethren' (iii. 1): all therefore that is merely intellectual and philosophical drops out of view for his purpose.

In the second place, since the Book of Wisdom had been written, the Divine Wisdom had in person tabernacled among the sons of men: he had appeared as a disciple among teachers, filled with wisdom so that men were amazed at his understanding (St. Luke ii. 40, 46, 52): he had appeared also as a teacher among disciples, and men had asked, 'What is this wisdom which is granted him?' and confessed that none ever spake as he spake. (St. Mark vi. 2, St. John vii. 46.) Behind St. James' definition stands the life of Jesus Christ, and in each adjective we may see a reminiscence of the teacher sent from God and caring not for the persons of men, held up for imitation to Christian teachers and pupils alike.

Bearing these points in mind, let us examine the description more minutely: if we do so we shall find three things described:—

(a) The atmosphere which Wisdom requires to breathe, the necessary conditions in which her indwelling is possible: '*pure and peaceable.*'

(b) Her dealings with other men: '*gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits.*'

(c) Her own essential character, as in the sight of both God and man: '*without variance (or doubtfulness) and without hypocrisy.*'

(a) *The Wisdom that is from above*: the words remind us that all true wisdom is a gift from the Father of lights (i. 17). Just as Homer pictures the goddess of Wisdom sending out her messenger with some message from heaven to the warriors fighting before Troy, so we may, with all reverence, personify Wisdom as sent out from beside the throne of God for her present task. That pure and subtil and holy spirit passes out of the serene heights of heaven, out of the realm of purity and peace and happiness; she draws nigh to earth, she hears the sound of wars and fightings (iv. 1), the unreal prayers which are only the utterances of selfishness pass by her (iv. 3), she sees its filthiness and overflowing of wickedness (i. 21): where can she find a resting-place for her feet? how can she 'dwell amid that dreary glare, in this world's citadel?' So, poised in mid air, she asks and wonders!

She is first of all *pure*: she must find a clean home in which to dwell: 'She will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil, nor dwell in a body that is held in pledge by sin' (Wisdom i. 4). She must find men who are willing to submit to the holy spirit of discipline, who are striving to keep their bodies in subjection; for impurity makes men suspicious, self-conscious, afraid of the light; such men will try to drag her down to their own level, they will distrust her guidance, they will not come boldly to the light through fear lest some skeleton in the cupboard should be exposed, their satiety with lower pleasures will prevent them from caring for the banquet which she has prepared. She thinks, it may be, with sadness of the Jewish literature that is named after her, the Wisdom literature. It had begun so brightly, men had rightly understood how she rejoiced in the habitable parts of God's earth, and had made her delights with the sons of men; but the last utterance had been that of pessimism, 'In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow': she had been wounded in the house of her friends, for between those two utterances there was supposed to lie the degradation of Solomon's character, who loved many strange women and

whose wives turned away his heart after other gods, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God (I. Kings xi. 1-4). That is then her first requirement, she is pure, and everyone who is to welcome her must put away all filthiness and overflowing of wickedness (i. 21).

But this is not enough: let us suppose that she turns her eyes across to the other land of wisdom, to Greece with its love of knowledge, to the home of Socrates and Plato and Aristotle; yet even there she would see how the true love of knowledge had dwindled rather than grown; philosophy had not become a common bond of brotherhood; each theory had become the property of a sect, and the vital force and winning appeal of truth had given way before the desire to tell or to hear some new thing. It was not enough then to find a pure home (Wisdom would feel), she must also find a peaceable brotherhood. How could she feel otherwise as she thought of the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which she brought from heaven, of the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, and looked at the limited capacities of any one individual; how small a portion could any one mind hold! how fatal it would be if, having a fragment, each thought it the whole! what tragedies lay in the overpressing of one truth to the neglect of others! If she was to dwell with men, she must have minds willing to be peaceable, able to recognise the limitations of their own knowledge and to listen with patience and reverence to the contributions of others: she must have a society in which many would not be anxious to be teachers (iii. 1), but all would be quick to hear and slow to speak (i. 19), in which there should be no respect for persons (ii.), no scorn or pride, but in which each should bring his quota into the common stock for mutual criticism and mutual delight. She is first pure, then peaceable; if she can find those who are willing to take these characteristics from her, she will be able to do her work.

(b) The next three epithets obviously describe the effect which Wisdom will have on her children, in their conduct to

other people, but as the meaning of the second is doubtful, it is hard to speak with certainty of the exact relation of each to the other. My impression is that in the three words the writer's mind passes quickly to different classes of people: in the first he is thinking of the teacher in relation to his pupil, in the second of the pupil in relation to his teacher, in the third of both in relation to the outside world. Thus, Wisdom is 'gentle' (ἐπιεικής): she will make the Christian teacher try, as St. Paul tried (II. Cor. x. i.), to model his relation to his pupils and converts on the 'gentleness' of Christ; he will be considerate, equitable, fair-minded; he will not treat all alike, but discriminate between their varying capacities; he will make allowances for slowness; he will listen to what his pupils have to say, and lead them on step by step in natural growth; he will not insist on all that he might ask for, but will take the most he can get as a pledge of more; he will remember that excellent as it is to have a giant's strength, it is tyrannous to use it as a giant, bearing in mind the description of God's own rule: 'But thou being sovereign over thy strength, judgest in gentleness (ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ) and with great forbearance dost thou govern us' (Wisd. xii. 18). Cardinal Newman has exactly illustrated this quality of the Christian teacher in his description of St. Philip Neri:—

Love is his bond, he knows no other fetter,
 Asks not our all, but takes whate'er we spare him,
 Willing to draw us on from good to better,
 As we can bear him.

Meanwhile Wisdom is also moulding the pupil for his task, for she is εὐπειθής, not [I think] 'easy to be entreated,' but 'ready to obey,' disciplined to a quick obedience. So she will make the pupil docile, tractable; she will strip him of obstinacy and self-complacency; he will not think that he knows enough already, but will be quick to take suggestions, ready to improve his methods, loyal and alert, with something of a soldier's discipline (for the word is frequently applied to soldiers), to obey the commands of his superior. Finally, as they pass from

the lecture-room into the street, true wisdom will guide both teacher and taught in the true attitude towards the sorrows of life; for she is filled *full of mercy and good fruits*; the description recalls the words 'beneficent, loving towards man' of the book of Wisdom; she will guard them against the conceit of a knowledge that makes them scorn the multitude; she will prevent knowledge from puffing up by combining it with true love that edifies; she will teach them that their learning is for this, that they may 'speak a word in season to him that is weary'; that there is a special blessing for him who 'understandeth,' who useth his wisdom, to help the poor and needy (ὁ συνίων ἐπὶ πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα Ps. xl. i.) who, like Peter and John, know the right kind of alms to give to the needy who cross their path as they pass out from the temple. She will make them ready with suggestion, lavish of their money and of their toil, shrinking from no task however difficult and however repulsive, because 'truths divine are the gentlest servitors of wants the most humiliating.'¹

(c) In our last division we are again confronted with a difficulty of interpretation. The word ἀδιάκριτος, translated 'without partiality' (A.V.), 'without variance' (R.V.), 'without doubtfulness' (R.V. margin), occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. It is fairly frequent in later ecclesiastical Greek, but with such a variety of meanings that we get no clear guidance from that source. Our clues must be found in the *ēpistle* itself. We notice first that it balances with the following word, so that there will be some parallelism between the two. 'Undivided,' 'unacted,' would be the most literal translation of the two words—'neither the product of division nor of acting.' But in what sense 'undivided'? The earlier chapters suggest two lines of thought; it may take up the warning of c. ii. 1-4, especially v. 4, οὐ διεκρίθητε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, 'are ye not divided in your own mind?' and mean that true wisdom is without division of heart, it does not show partiality or dislike; it acts 'without prejudice, doing nothing by partiality' (I. Tim.

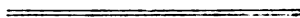
¹ Martineau, *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, p. 32.

v. 21); it awards its judgment or assigns the seats in the kingdom of heaven without favouritism; the word will then be illustrated by our Lord's answer to the mother of Zebedee's sons. But again the word may recall the warning against division of mind, against a doubting faith, which had been given in c. i. 5-8. 'Let him ask in faith, nothing doubting' (μηδὲν διακρινόμενος). It will not be hesitating, double-minded, distrustful of itself and of God, not always 'this way and that dividing the swift mind,' not shilly-shallying, but clear, decided, steadfast, loyal. Having come from God it will have the 'confidence of reason,' it will have weighed arguments and struck the balance. The word may remind us of the description in the Book of Wisdom, 'steadfast, sure' (βέβαιον, ἀσφαλές); it will be best illustrated by the clear tone of our Lord's utterances in St. John with their unhesitating 'Verily, verily I say unto you,' 'we speak that which we know,' and may be compared with the closing exhortation of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians, 'Fare ye well in godly concord and possess ye a *steadfast* (ἀδιάκριτον) *spirit, which is Jesus Christ.*' Is it necessary to choose between these two shades of meaning? I think not; the associations of the past chapters would suggest both to a hearer or reader, and with a word so little fixed in meaning an author may have meant to suggest both. If we have to choose, I think the second is the more prominent in the writer's mind, because the transition to the next word is more natural from it. Wisdom is not the work of an actor, it is 'without hypocrisy'; it makes no professions which it is not prepared to perform; it is not a hearer of the word without being a doer (i. 22); it does not utter words of kindliness without acts of generosity (ii. 14-17); blessing and cursing do not alike come out of its mouth (iii. 10); it makes no respect of persons (ii. 1); it is not inconsistent and over-complaisant. And it is the man of clear principles who knows his own ground surely, that rises most securely out of these dangers. It was St. Paul who stood firm at Antioch, when both Peter and Barnabas were led away by the 'hypocrisy' of those who came

from James, and he stood firm because he had quite clearly grasped the principles of Christ, nay because Christ was living in him.

The Wisdom, then, that cometh from above is a very strong thing. It needs personal purity as its foundation, it needs the sense of brotherhood as the very condition of its growth; it manifests itself in considerate treatment of every learner, in ready docility to every teacher, it brings out of its stores oil and wine for the needs of suffering humanity; no doubts of God's upholding power and guidance, no hesitation cramps its action, no fear of man prevents it from speaking boldly out of its own genuine simplicity. We might trace many of its features in St. Paul, or in St. John, but all are combined only in Him in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.

WALTER LOCK.



ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

St. Athanasius is perhaps best (though most unfairly) known in connection with a Latin exposition of the Creed, which has been much used in Central and Western Europe for the last 1300 years. It holds its place in the Prayer Book as the *Quicumque vult*, 'commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius.' But its connection with the Bishop of Alexandria is remote. It was composed in Latin, a language which he never mastered, it treats the doctrine of the Incarnation in a manner which is not his, and it condemns those who differ from it in terms which he would not have used. The Nicene Creed, for which Athanasius fought all his life, was content to declare Arians to be cut off from the communion of the Church, the *Quicumque vult* follows all misbelievers into the other world, and demands that believers should confess that those who differ from it shall perish everlastingly. Athanasius was sometimes very human in his language when he was angry, but the spirit of the minatory clauses of the *Quicumque vult* was never his.

Athanasius was above all things a Christian and a man. The cause for which he contended could claim but little sympathy from Gibbon, yet the great historian's appreciation of Athanasius falls little short of a panegyric. 'Amidst the 'storms of persecution, the Archbishop of Alexandria was 'patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and 'although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, 'Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, 'which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate 'sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy.' So writes the historian of the *Decline and Fall*.

The life of Athanasius was a life of storms. In 318 A.D., when he was about 20 years of age, he wrote his first book, a

short but striking treatise on the Incarnation of the Word of God. In 325, as Archdeacon, he attended his bishop, Alexander, at the First General Council at Nicæa. In 328, when he was just upon 30 years of age, he succeeded Alexander as Bishop of Alexandria. In 336 he was banished to Trèves—his first exile. The following year the great Constantine died and Athanasius returned to his bishopric. Two years later he was expelled by the civil power, which had fallen under Arian influence, and a certain Gregory was installed in his place. In 346 Athanasius was allowed to return, and came home through miles of welcome. Then followed ten years of comparative quiet, but towards the end of this period his anxiety regarding the intentions of the Emperor Constantius grew keener and keener. In 356 these intentions disclosed themselves. The commander of the Egyptian troops acting under the instructions of the Emperor broke into the church in which Athanasius was keeping vigil, and forced him to flee. Athanasius lay in hiding in out-of-the-way parts of Egypt for the next six years. In 362, when Julian was emperor in the room of Constantius and heathenism had become again the established religion, Athanasius was back once more at his post. Six months later he was an exile again, for the fourth time. Julian might treat other bishops with contempt, but Athanasius was too great. 'Let him be persecuted' (*διωκίσθω*), wrote the Emperor to Alexandria. After the untimely death of Julian he returned. In 365 an attempt was made to drive out Athanasius once more under the terms of a rescript of the Emperor Valens. But he was too well loved, and the Alexandrians put down the attempt with riots. In 373 Athanasius died in peace at Alexandria being about 75 years old.

And the key to this stormy life—what was it? It lay partly in his adhesion to the Doctrine of the Person of Christ as set forth in the Council of Nicæa, partly in his own personality. He was a greater man than any of his opponents, and these could never feel their victory complete while Athanasius was established at Alexandria. In his own city he was too visibly

the ruler of Egypt, for the hearts of the people were in his hand.

This ascendancy of Athanasius will surprise no one who studies the man. Gibbon has indeed depreciated his learning, and it is true that he was not a living dictionary of Christian Biography like his contemporary, Eusebius of Cæsarea. But he was a student of the Bible and of philosophy, and a clear and deep thinker. In action he was ready and courageous, and however difficult circumstances were he hardly ever lost his presence of mind. Having such gifts, he naturally was able to extricate himself from several extremely dangerous situations, and his enemies, disconcerted by their own failures, consoled themselves for their want of success by ascribing magical powers to their great opponent.

There was, however, a weak point in his early career which threatened for a time to bring about shipwreck. His election as Bishop of Alexandria was disputed. It may have been that there was a three-cornered contest and that Athanasius had only a relative majority of votes over each of the two other candidates, and not an absolute majority against both. His enemies (or some of them) declared that he had not attained the canonical age of 30. It is possible also that some of his friends in certain districts either used violence themselves or called in the aid of the secular arm to silence the protests of his enemies. Perhaps we ought to believe so much as this of the charges brought by his enemies, though so much is clearly false that it is difficult not to suspect the rest. On the other hand, as far as we can discover, no one charge was ever pressed to a decision against Athanasius, and when he was formally banished by Constantine, in 336, it was not as a man against whom some offence had been proved, but as a well hated man, who was safer on the Moselle than in the East.

But if Athanasius ever did countenance any violence or injustice on the part of his supporters at the time of his election, he smarted sorely for it for years after. Three or four of his enemies were almost diabolic in their unscrupulous accusations

of him, and there were men of decent character who believed that there must be some fire where there was so much smoke.

The story of Athanasius at the Council of Tyre in 335 A.D. illustrates the tactics of his enemies. A number of accusers, some honest, some dishonest, brought forward a mass of charges against the great Bishop. Constantine was impressed by their seeming earnestness, or by the earnestness of some, and commanded Athanasius to appear and make an answer. These charges were of beating and imprisoning bishops and clergy who opposed him, of throwing down an empty episcopal chair, of praying in an unconsecrated church, and of other similar offences. But they had a capital charge which they had been making for years, and now brought forward in order to bring home. Athanasius had murdered (they said) a bishop named Arsenius, and had cut off his hand for magical purposes. They produced evidence that the man had been missing for years, and they produced a mummied hand in a box. A cry of horror broke forth from the Council. Then Athanasius asked whether any present had known Arsenius. A number of voices cried, Yes. Then Athanasius led forth a man whose head was bowed and his hands hidden beneath a cloak. He told him to raise his head. Is this he who lost the hand? There was grievous confusion among the accusers; the man plainly had not been murdered! But all the more, now the man was produced, did the more honest ones think that the crime of cruel mutilation would be brought home to the Bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius put back the cloak and showed one hand; and then paused. The Council was still in a doubt. Then he turned back the cloak on the other side and showed a second hand. 'Arsenius, as ye see, hath been discovered in possession of his two hands; the place whence the third was cut off let my accusers show!' The opponents of Athanasius robbed in a moment of their favourite accusation fell back on their old theory. Athanasius *was* a magician; it was not Arsenius whom they had seen, but

an illusion due to the black art. Even the *sang froid* of the Archbishop told against him with many. And yet the explanation of the whole matter was quite simple. A zealous lay friend of Athanasius, of consular rank, had heard accidentally that Arsenius was actually alive and present in Tyre, but was being kept out of the way by the threats and cajolery of the enemy. The consular applied some threats on *his* side, with the result that the unfortunate Arsenius was compelled to take part in the discomfiture of his associates.

But if the early persecutions of Athanasius were largely due to personal reasons, for which (it may be) he himself was partly to blame, his later sufferings were sufferings wholly on behalf of the Catholic Faith. He had been a thinker on some of the deepest problems of Theology from the age of 20 or earlier. In particular, living under the shadow of the Temple of Serapis, he could not help pondering over the different conceptions of God which belonged respectively to Heathenism and to Christianity. The polytheism which he saw around him forced upon him all the more clearly by contrast the perception of the Unity of the Godhead. 'The Son,' he writes, 'is the 'Father's Power and Wisdom and Word, not being so by 'participation, nor as if these qualities were imparted to Him 'from without. . . . But in and through [the Son] [the Father] 'reveals Himself also, as the Saviour says, *I in the Father and the Father in me*: so that it follows that the Word is in Him 'that begat Him, and that He that is begotten lives eternally 'with the Father.' (*Contra Gentes*, §§ 46, 47, trans. by A. Robertson, D.D.)

At the Council of Nicæa, the Church was confronted with a luxuriant upgrowth of heathen ideas. Christianity had grown too quickly in the last quarter of the third century, and though the terrible Diocletian persecution had checked the evil, the conversion of Constantine increased it in double degree. It became a fashion to turn Christian, and the Church became filled with unfinished and ignorant members. Some simply attached themselves without further thought to the Emperor's

religion ; some were attracted by the pure morality taught by Christ ; others again were startled out of their careless heathenism by the earnestness and courage of the Christian Martyrs, who followed one another so steadily in the east and in the west with little respite for fourteen years. At least a generation must pass away before the Church could hope to assimilate so great a crowd of heathen ; but such a delay was not granted. Some seven years after the persecution had ceased in Egypt, a stately old man named Arius, a very popular preacher, was drawing crowds to one of the chief churches in Alexandria, and teaching them that our Lord Jesus Christ was perfect neither in His manhood nor in His Divinity, but was only a demi-god. The half heathen hearers heard with undisturbed content that our Lord was such another god as Apollo or Hermes.

It was, indeed, not a case of words and names between Arius and those who now arose to controvert his teaching. There was a danger that three centuries of Christian endeavour would be lost, and that the Church which had fought so strenuously against polytheism would herself turn round and teach two gods. The Council of Nicæa met the crisis with a confession of its own faith. The 318 Fathers confessed that Jesus Christ the Son was God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, . . . of one substance (or essence) with the Father. It was specially for this last phrase, *of one substance* (*ὁμοούσιον*) that Athanasius fought for so many years, and yet, not for the phrase, but for the meaning which underlay it.

He was a man who could patiently hear what others had to say, and he was willing to accept other forms of words than his own, if those who used them could satisfy him that their thoughts agreed with the decisions of Nicæa.

‘These things’ (so he writes to the Antiochenes) ‘being thus confessed, we exhort you not hastily to condemn those who so confess, and so explain the phrases they use, but rather to accept them as they desire peace. . . . Do ye, as good men and faithful stewards of the Lord, check what gives

‘offence, and value above all things such a peace, so that faith be sound. Perhaps God will have pity on us, and unite what is divided, and, there being once more one flock, we shall all have one leader, even our Lord Jesus Christ.’ (§ 8=Migne ii. 805.)

It were much to be wished that the teaching of Athanasius on the *ὁμοούσιον* had been more fully grasped by successive generations of Christians. We should have been spared some of that crude theology lately heard amongst us which seems to speak as if the Son of God had to propitiate God the Father on our behalf, as if One Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity were angry with us, and another Person of the Trinity took our part against Him. We should have been spared the irony of Herbert Spencer when he represented Christians as believing that One Infinite Being descended into the grave to appease another Infinite Being. The doctrine of the *ὁμοούσιον* is that the Father and the Son are One God, and our belief with regard to Redemption is that expressed by St. Paul, ‘God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses.’ (II. Cor. v. 19).

One last word. The Nicene Creed owed its origin to no vain intrusion of human intellects into matters too deep for them. Athanasius and those who joined with him in contending for this presentation of the Truth had no choice open to them. Arius propounded a theory of the nature of the Deity, and published it abroad before any Nicene Creed existed. Teachers who thought that the old heathen leaven was working within the Church could not be silent. But let no one think that one so great as Athanasius could make the supreme mistake of imagining that the nature of God could be adequately described in human words. The great bishop had no illusions of such a kind. ‘I thought it needful,’ he says to some correspondents to whom he sends one of his many treatises, ‘to represent to you what pains the writing of these things has cost me, in order that you may understand thereby how truly the blessed Apostle has said, “O, the depth of the riches both

“ of the wisdom and knowledge of God ”; and may kindly bear
‘ with a weak man such as I am by nature. For the more I
‘ desired to write, and endeavoured to force myself to understand
‘ the Divinity of the Word, so much the more did the knowledge
‘ thereof withdraw itself from me; and in proportion as I
‘ thought that I apprehended it, in so much I perceived myself
‘ to fail of doing so. Moreover, also, I was unable to express
‘ in writing even what I seemed myself to understand; and that
‘ which I wrote was unequal to the imperfect shadow of the
‘ truth which existed in my conception’ (*Historia Arianorum
ad Monachos*, § 1., translated by A. Robertson, D.D., now
Bishop of Exeter).

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

I. THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD WAS INTRINSICALLY PROBABLE.

Sufficient has been written of late years upon the possibility of miracles to render very insecure the arguments which were held to carry great weight but a little while ago, and instead of dogmatically refusing to believe that any alleged miraculous event could possibly have occurred, the more cautious and reasonable attitude is adopted, and we ask whether it is intrinsically probable and whether its attestation rests upon adequate evidence. In short, we ask, Do the facts as they stand require greater credulity to disbelieve than to believe, and can the assumed conclusion be rejected without doing violence to the truth?

When the position which Christianity holds to-day is duly considered, and the stages through which it grew have been traced with care; and when its relation to the history which preceded it has been made the subject of patient investigation, it seems to us that there will appear to be no small ground for holding that a movement which gathered into itself the scattered elements preceding it, and brought into subjection the innumerable forces which were opposed to its progress, may have been marked by unique features on the occasion of its original appearance in the world. Let us shortly trace some of its connections with antecedent and subsequent history.

It was the fond contention of a long succession of theologians that Christianity came violently upon the earth and stood in no relation, other than one of utter antagonism, to the Jewish religion which preceded it. No attempt has ever more miserably failed, and its failure is due to a total misconception of the ways in which God has worked out His purpose among men. Modern science, with its great doctrine of evolution, has struck the final blow, and now we can rest in the calm thought that all life is subject to a steady progress which links

age to age; a progress which may indeed have its checks and its disappointments, but which refuses to be impeded long. The geologist traces it in the development of physical life; the theologian in the gradual revelation of God, and the dawn and quickening of the moral sense.

Viewed from this standpoint it is impossible to ignore the fact that Christianity had its roots in the past. But it is equally impossible to deny that it made an original contribution, in that it rendered possible a new relationship of man to God, and opened his eyes to the means by which it might be attained. It worked upon ground which had long been prepared, and its highest claims were justified when it fulfilled the aspirations which had marked the upward steps of the past. We cannot believe, if indeed we acknowledge the existence of God, that He left mankind wholly without a knowledge of Himself and His truth. If, then, a new force like Christianity enters the world, and claims to be the complete expression of God's love to men, we shall not be unjustified in asking that its claim shall be confirmed in that it gathers up within itself all the more partial truths to which the race had attained before. It was this crowning of former revelation which was claimed by our Lord when He said that He came to fulfil and not to destroy.

At the outset we declared our purpose of endeavouring to show the probability that Christianity in its origin would be marked by an unusual occurrence, if we could show that it stood in an absolutely unique relation to its past and to its future; if history converged to it and diverged from it. We will now proceed to this task.

History Converged to Christianity.

View the appearance of Christianity in what light we may, we shall find that it gathers up and completes the progress of the past. Judaism had its mission; Christianity crowns its labours and makes them effectual. Let us put it in this way. Before Judaism we may broadly describe the religious thought of the world as a confused pantheism. True, there was a knowledge of God, and this in itself was good, but there was

no definite boundary line between God and man: in a sense, mankind and nature made up God. The consequence of this was, that, in a greater or a less degree, man was responsible merely to himself, and religion lacked the moral force which the sense of responsibility to an external power would create. It was the mission of Judaism to make sharp the distinction between man and God: to place God absolutely without and apart from man, and to lay stress upon the homage which man must render to His Majesty, and the obedience with which he must observe His laws. In doing this Judaism made a profound advance in the way of moral progress, for it revealed the need of a moral life. It was weak, however, in that it was unable to supply the power to satisfy the demands which it had made. It prepared the way for Christianity, which then stepped in and showed the possibility of a true union of man with God; a union which was quite distinct from that which the old and morally weak conception of identity with the Deity implied, and one which supplied to man the moral force which he had lacked. Christianity was thus unique, even while it crowned the labours of the past.

View it from another point. What nation ever passed through such vicissitudes and suffered such agony as the Jews? But each pulse of prosperity, each pang of pain, taught some new lesson and revealed some priceless truth. We from the calm present see this more clearly than the actors did. The prosperity of David's reign left a fair image in the minds of a succeeding age. In striking contrast to this glowing picture were the evil days and unrighteous dealings of succeeding reigns. But the contrast, when it arose before the minds of the prophets, arose before the minds of men with a deep faith in God and in His righteous dealings, and it was their unflinching belief that the miserable present must of necessity give place to a happier future. Thus arose the idea of a Kingdom of God and a Messianic King. Need we declare how their brightest hopes were realized, and their conception infinitely glorified, by the Kingly Christ?

Again, the dark days of a dreary exile had another truth to teach : it behoved those who suffered the sorrows of captivity to learn that suffering had its service to perform. Those, who in these circumstances treasured, for the benefit of humanity, the priceless knowledge of Jehovah, did so at the cost of earthly prosperity. The truth is beautifully and pathetically embodied in the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah. It is a touching passage, but its words are more deep and tender for us, who bear in mind the great and effectual sufferings of Jesus Christ.

Lastly, what broad sympathies stirred the heart of the writer of the book of Jonah ; what a fine universalism ; what a rebuke to the narrow tendencies of his time. Yet, his words are dwarfed while they are fulfilled when we read them in the knowledge of Him in Whom Jew and Gentile, bond and free, male and female, are all one. Indeed, it is most true that Jewish history converged to Him. But it is also true that the times of the Gentiles were ripe for Him. Philosophy had made its loftiest flights and found its limitations. It could not touch the common life of men. All its noble aspirations were realised in Christianity, whose power was not confined to philosophers alone, but was effectual for the whole human race. Rome's great development had outgrown its vitality and looked for the advent of some vivifying, unifying, force which could use it to good effect. The success of Christianity, and the use which it made of the imperial and juristic organisation of Rome, prove to the hilt its fitness to be the fulfilment, while it was the expansion, of Roman hopes and tendencies.

Christianity Unfolded Historically.

By the mind which has calmly surveyed the effect of Christianity upon thought and action during the last 1900 years, the statement that faith in a Risen Lord has exercised a more profound influence on the history of mankind than any other power which the world has yet known, will hardly be challenged. It is a survey which leads to deep and solemn thought: it reveals in Christianity a living force which demands

recognition but which defies exact analysis. Starting with the lowest circles of life, its influence spread to those above. It began in the humblest homes; it found its way into the courts of kings. It curbed the individual passions of men; it is seeking to direct the collective dealings of nations. In the early days of its expansion it came in contact with the subtleties of Greek thought, and as the result of a long refining process a body of doctrine was defined. This doctrine did but express the facts as they appeared in the light of history and experience. The Church was forced to define its position. It held firmly to the truth which the Jews had learned of the unity of God. At the same time it realised that Jesus Christ, who calmly laid claim to be one with God, had the most obvious seal of God set to the claim He made; and yet He was distinct from God. The Church expressed what it had learned from experience by declaring that the persons of the Father and the Son were distinct, while their Godhead was one. So, too, with the Holy Spirit, distinction of person and unity of essence was the lesson taught alike by Scripture and experience. When Christianity worked on the ground of Roman imperialism it assumed a definite and organised form, useful in its way and necessary to the full expression of some aspects of the Christian faith. But the means, which were of benefit at first, at length threatened to obscure the end for which they had been devised. The individual was apt to be lost in the organisation. It was the Reformation, which at first, by the force of reaction, tended to break with the external features of Catholicism, that was destined to revive the partially lost sense of individual responsibility, and encourage a personal dealing of the soul with God. A Catholic spirit and an individual fervour must result from the conflux of the two.

Thus has Christianity unfolded in history: as a growing thing it assumes fresh forms from age to age; the old is not lost, but is transformed and expanded in the new. Unique in its relation to the past; unique in the development which has followed its advent; we have strong grounds to expect that there would be something unique in its origin.

II. ANTICIPATIONS OF THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY.

To say that the Christian doctrine of immortality had no roots in the past is as wholly untrue as the assertion which lies at the other extreme, and denies to it any originality. In a higher or lower form, and with strangely varying detail, we meet with this hope in nearly every race. Vague and shadowy, inconstant and fitful, these beliefs undoubtedly were, but we meet them alike in the ancient thought of Egypt and Greece, of Persia and Babylon. They have left a deep mark in the literature of India, and they are found in their purest form in the Scriptures of the Jews. Indeed it is there, as we hope to show, that they exhibit features wholly new: features which bear within themselves the spring from which will flow a fuller stream.

In India the early idea of immortality was more pure and joyous than the later views into which the speculative reasoning of the subtle Hindu mind was ultimately led. The old idea of existence with the gods was displaced by one which pictured the soul seeking to purify itself by a weary passage from body to body, longing to free itself from the toils of existence. No less unhappy was the Assyrian conception. Immortality to them was but a gloomy, cheerless, colourless existence, in which human activities ceased, and life was robbed of its throbbing interests.

Apart from the Old Testament, however, it is in Egyptian and Greek thought that we find the most interesting material in considering the early anticipation of that doctrine of immortality which was so gloriously unfolded as a sure and certain hope to the believer in Jesus Christ.

The old Egyptian *Book of the Dead* lies before us, and although it is difficult to gather very definite views as to its conceptions of the other world, the one idea which seems to emerge more clearly than another is that the life beyond, which rewards the faithfulness of the justified, is a substantial life, and to this idea was linked the moral conception of a judgment.

In the Greek thought which was represented by Pindar, the hope of immortality extended only to the soul. It was the

soul alone which had issued from the gods, and it alone survives, and passes to the other world. Plato supplied to the earlier ideas a logical basis, and soared to wonderful heights in his conception of the soul's dignity, in his anticipations of its sovereign independence of the body, and in his reflections on its divine origin. Plato reasons his way to a belief in immortality, and makes weal or woe in a future state to rest upon the conduct in the earthly life. To the Egyptian the renewal of a full blooded human life was the hoped-for reward of the virtuous: to the philosophical Greek immortality meant the continued existence of the soul freed from the cramping fetters of the bodily state. The idea held out hope to the philosopher rather than to the common man: it was the highest effort of pure reason, and was singularly dissociated from religious thought.

This Hellenic thought had deeply influenced the world into which our Lord was born, but it is not in philosophic reasonings that we trace the vital springs of the Christian hope of immortality. In so far as Christianity was not original it had its roots primarily in Jewish thought and Jewish hopes, and it is to these that we must now extend our search.

It has often been remarked, and we are at no pains to deny the assertion, that many of the Old Testament views of the future state are closely related to those of the other races with whose fortunes its lot was so closely involved. But we would supplement this by saying that there are features clearly to be discerned in the Old Testament view of the subject, which make the Jewish thoughts to differ widely in their tendency from those which gained currency in other lands. The Hebrew thinker steered a middle course between the Platonic view, which degraded the body, and the Egyptian view, which unduly exalted it. The great and fundamental difference between the thought of the Jews and that of other nations upon this subject, may be traced to the Jewish conception of the nature of God and His relation to man. The Greek and Egyptian wished for a continuance of life for its own sake, but the Jew desired a future life that he might prolong his communion with

God. This was the fruitful ground out of which grew the expanded hope. The Jew passed his days in the presence of a living God, and he could not believe that this holy intercourse could be eternally destroyed. A worthy conception of God, and a lively sense of the soul's communion with Him, begat a worthy conception of man's destiny.

Paradoxical as it may sound, it was the very strength of the Jewish conception of God, and of man's intercourse with Him, to which we owe the scarcity of reference to a future state in the earlier stages of her history. To many this lack has been a stumbling block, but the reason for it is clear. The early Jew was mastering the elements; he was laying and strengthening the foundations. He was learning the joys of a present and vital relationship to God, and tasting the sweet springs of communion with Him. It was only as the nation grew older, as its prophets and seers mused upon the inequalities and troubles of life that they tried to find a solution for its enigmas in a state beyond the grave. They were made in the image of God, they were made for communion with Him; was it possible that death could break so strong a bond? Such was the train of thought which was bound up in the idea of a covenant God. Another line of reasoning was centred in the fact that God was a righteous God. In the Mosaic laws it had been declared that He would punish the evil-doer and reward the righteous man. Sad experience showed that the evil man not infrequently prospered until the day of his death, while a righteous man's life often set amid gloomy clouds. It was inconsistent with God's righteousness that all should end thus. The whole of Jewish thought on the subject was bound up with Jewish ideas of God. The Egyptian and the Greek conception was the result of reason; the Hebrew hope was the offspring of revelation, and the revelation was a revelation of the character of God.

In a brief survey of Jewish history from the above point of view we begin by observing how small a place in the Pentateuch is occupied by the thought of immortality. The weak or woe is

in this life; the reward or punishment is meted here. The thoughts in those early days, as we have before remarked, were confined to the present communion with God.

In the poetical books the outlook expands. It was the inequalities of life which pressed heavily upon the writers of many of the Psalms. At first they seemed to have sought comfort in the thought that God would not suffer the righteous man to descend to the colourless existence which was imagined from the earliest times to be the leading characteristic of Hades or the underworld. Thus in Ps. xvi. the writer is assured that God will not give his soul to Sheol: one who has enjoyed communion with God could not descend to the dread underworld. It was a bold flight of faith, but in essence, if not in its particular features, an eminently justifiable flight. The obvious difficulty which shook the faith was the fact that the best of men did die, and often died in painful circumstances. It shook but could not crush the faith, and the hope took a further form.

The book of Job is instructive in this respect, for in it we get one bright though transient flash of a fresh solution. Death may overtake the righteous man, and he may descend in his misery to Sheol, but that stage cannot be the end of all. In a burst of passionate feeling Job declares that he knows that his Vindicator lives, and that, after the waste of skin and flesh have completed their work of destruction, he shall see his God; he shall see God, Whose face had so long been hidden, but Who should then appear as the One to vindicate his innocence.

When we pass on to the prophets we notice that the hope has grown more explicit and more definite. The central idea which influences prophetic thought is the idea of the kingdom of God. God was truthful, God had a righteous purpose, the fashion of the world did not acknowledge God, therefore God would come in His power and set up His kingdom. The more disaster pressed, and troubles came, the more vivid grew the expectation of the speedy advent of the kingdom of God. And when that kingdom should come the chastened race would be raised to share in it. It was a national resurrection which arose

before the eyes of Hosea, and it was a national resurrection which formed the background of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones. In parts of *Isaiah* the hope rises higher still, and the idea of a corporate resurrection is supplemented by the conception of an individual resurrection. But it is the book of Daniel which contains the most explicit statement and the largest view. There we read that not the just alone shall rise, but the unjust also have a future lot, and the state to which they go is an everlasting state. It is a wide conception, but wide within limits: it extends to Israel and Israelites alone.

As we look back over the pre-Christian ages and see the almost universal hope that death does not end the existence which has been our lot here; as we watch the high flights of reason and speculation fasten to the thought of the soul's immortality, and trace the growth of the better hope as it was moulded by revelation and experience among the Jews; as we see the firm foundations upon which this hope was based and the lofty aspirations to which it led, may we not look upon the whole idea as implanted by the Supreme Ruler of all, and may we not expect that One Whose life and teaching were unique, and Whose claims upon mankind had been blasphemous if baseless, should Himself be the embodiment of those hopes, the realisation of the anticipations of the whole human race; gathering up the true elements of each, enlarging, enriching, ennobling, and by His own resurrection giving the sure pledge of immortality.

III. ST. PAUL AND THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

To St. Paul the thought of the Resurrection of our Lord was fundamental and lay at the root of all his teaching. It is well worth our while to try and estimate its original significance to him, but to do so we must go a step further back and consider the current Jewish reasonings upon the phenomena of prosperity and adversity. To the contemporary Jewish mind the prosperous man was one who displayed obvious tokens of Divine approval; on the other hand, adversity could only be considered as a mark

of Divine displeasure. It was from some such standpoint that Saul the Pharisee would regard our Lord. He would reason that an obscure Galilean peasant had set at defiance the recognised religious authorities of the land and had advanced daring claims whose impiety was proved by the Divine wrath which swept him to an ignominious and disastrous end. When we bear this attitude in mind, we are in a better position to understand the revolution which the vision on the road to Damascus wrought in the persecutor's mind. It upset all his theories. So far from being banished from the face of God, Jesus was exalted to the Father's right hand. The claims which He had made were sealed by Divine approval: He was declared to be the Son of God, with power, by the resurrection of the dead. Only in the light of this overwhelming conviction can we at all understand St. Paul's doctrine of the Atonement. How could Christ's death appear to him to have any sacrificial efficacy if He never rose?

It has often been asserted that the alleged encounter on the road to Damascus was vision not fact, but to St. Paul at any rate the appearance was real. He does not distinguish between the reality of what was then seen by him and what James and Cephas saw, and in II. Corinthians we have an instance of his care in relating an occurrence which was possibly of such a nature as the vision theorists imagine to have taken place here. In the present case he realises that the fact upon which he lays so much stress is almost incredible to the ordinary mind, and must be supported by adequate testimony, and he refers, as we shall shortly show, to weighty independent evidence in favour of his contention. But before we pass on to this evidence we will notice another chain of events which, while it convinced him beyond all doubt that Jesus Christ was a Risen Lord, formed the basis of some essential and far-reaching features in his doctrine.

It was after the vision at Damascus that St. Paul observed a change taking place in his life. The restraint of passion and the performance of active good became natural by virtue of a

mystical union between himself and the Risen Lord. He rightly reasoned that tangible effects must have a real cause, and the constant renewal which was taking place within him, could only be attributed to the fact that Jesus Christ was in a true sense still alive, and that he was united to Him by the most indissoluble ties. The actual achievements of the victory over sin which he observed in his present life were the sure pledge of an ultimate triumph over death, which was but the penalty and consequence of sin. By virtue of his union with Christ's risen body, his body would be restored. Thus was the body sacred to St. Paul, and there was imparted an effectual moral stimulant to Christianity. It was by these steps that St. Paul came to look upon our Lord as the Head of a new humanity—a humanity in which all might have a place who were united to Him. So true is it that Christian doctrine was based upon Christian experience.

Turning now from St. Paul's life and the doctrine he taught, which appear as an unsolved riddle if we do not allow him to have had a most unshaken belief in the actual Resurrection of the Lord, we will shortly consider a passage in one of his letters which is our earliest documentary evidence of the event it records. In the passage in question—the fifteenth chapter of I. Corinthians—it is not the apostle's primary intention to prove the Resurrection of Christ; that great fact is only strongly reasserted, but its general acceptance was taken for granted. The argument is rather concerned with our immortality, which depends wholly and solely upon the fact that we are united with Christ Who has risen. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ was not seriously doubted, but it was looked upon as a unique event. St. Paul would show that this idea arose from a false conception of Christ, which treated Him as a man and not *Man*; as an isolated individual, and not a recapitulation of the race.

It is because these verses are only a reminder of the fact of the Lord's Resurrection that their value is enhanced, inasmuch as they showed that, at the early date to which they must

be referred, the all-important event was generally acknowledged. The Epistle was written about the year 55 A.D., and taking into account the formal and official character of the verses, and the almost creed-like ring which some of them possess, we cannot be accused of rashness if we incline to the view that they must have taken definite shape at a much earlier date.¹ It would seem that a stereotyped form, as it were, had grown up, in which the apostolic witness to the Resurrection was couched, and a fragment of which lies before us here. In this supposition, and in the early date to which we would assign the formation of the list of which we have a portion here, we have confirmation in the occurrence of the names James and Cephas, for it was these two apostles whom St. Paul informs us that he saw when he went to Jerusalem to confer with Peter (Gal. i. 18-19.). It is highly probable that he had gone to Jerusalem to hear more about the Resurrection from the rest, that he might add their testimony to his.

There are two further features of importance which we must notice. The verses would be known to at least two of the Evangelists, and it is remarkable that none of them relate so many appearances as we find here. We gather from this, that when the Gospels were written, the fact of the Resurrection was not seriously challenged by those who were in a position to refute it, and that the writers of the Gospels felt compelled by no necessity to give an elaborate and detailed list of the various occasions upon which the Risen Lord had made Himself known. They only mention what bears upon the immediate purpose of the narrative.

Finally, it has often been alleged that the tales of our Lord's Resurrection would grow up naturally with the lapse of time, just as marvellous stories have always clustered round the history of great men. But implicit in these verses is the refutation of the charge, for it is here, in the earliest account, that we meet the most remarkable event—the appearance to

¹ St. Paul explicitly says in v. 3 that he had told them these things 'at first,' *i.e.*, probably at his first visit among them.

the 500 brethren at once 'of whom the greater number are alive unto this day.'

IV. THE GOSPEL NARRATIVES OF THE RESURRECTION.

As we mentioned in the preceding section, the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection are not mentioned primarily with the intention of enforcing belief in its occurrence: a knowledge of the event was taken for granted, and the accounts which the Gospels contained of the various forms it assumed, enter into the narratives of the different Evangelists, because they fall in with the general scope of the book in question. As we said before, this use of the records of the Resurrection has a far reaching importance, showing as it does that the historical character of the incident was never seriously questioned by those who were in a better position than we to test its accuracy, if they had reasonable grounds to doubt it.

St. Matthew in accordance with the general plan of his Gospel relates the appearance in Galilee and when he records the words 'all power is given unto Me,' he seeks here, as elsewhere throughout his narrative, to represent Jesus as the universal King. St. Luke was an historian and has the historian's interest in relating in their fulness incidents which were not generally or accurately known. The primary purpose of his Gospel was to exhibit the universal character of Christ's mission: to picture Him as the universal Saviour, and it is quite in keeping with this purpose that he should choose to relate those words of the Risen Lord which declared that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations.' St. John's Gospel traces side by side the growth of faith and unbelief, and our Lord's appearance to scatter the doubts of Thomas, and crown the faith which, in the earlier incidents related of this disciple, we had seen gradually working its upward way, furnished a most apt example of a principle which he wished to set before his readers. The narrative of the haul of fishes and the unbroken net was introduced quite naturally as the record of a scene in which he had a special interest, and as explaining some words of our

Lord, which he had reason to suspect had been generally misunderstood.

Much has been written about the divergence of the gospel accounts of the Resurrection. Nothing adequate can be said upon this subject here, but it is important to bear in mind a few leading thoughts which will be found of use. There are some broad features in which all the Evangelists agree, and these, if allowed their full weight, will be found full of instruction. All are at one in referring the Resurrection to the third day, and in laying emphasis upon the empty tomb. But from a negative point of view this agreement is equally noteworthy, for none give any account of the Resurrection itself: they are full of the significance of the empty tomb, and full of the joy which was caused by the appearance of the Risen Lord; but upon the particulars of the actual Resurrection itself, they one and all preserve an absolute silence. Nor do any describe an appearance to unbelievers: in His risen body it was of believers alone that our Lord was seen. There was a striking fitness in this, and we read in it an important lesson for ourselves. It is to the eye of faith alone that the Risen Lord still appears.

Coupled to all this there is in each narrative an economy of appearances, and a sobriety in their character, which is quite inexplicable in view of any theory of vision. Moreover, there is an intrinsic truthfulness and probability about the narratives, which those find hard to explain away, who wish to escape from the conclusions to which the plain accounts most naturally lead. The conversation through which the Stranger led the two men on the road to Emmaus is of just that nature which we should look for in the Jesus of the Gospels. It was beyond the power of any of the disciples, as we know them, to invent either the scene or the words. The tale is truthful and artless. We should look in vain in that, or indeed in any other age, for the art which would have stayed the story where it did, and made the Lord to disappear in the breaking of bread.

Or, if we turn to St. John, we shall constantly be struck by the marks of an eye-witness and by the absence of all

excitement and exaggeration. The whole scene is evidently vivid in the writer's mind. The incidents of the haul of fish are related by one who had a fisherman's eye for details. The great number of fish would be counted before division among the partners of the boat, and was so great that it would be often called to mind. And yet, despite it all, the net did not break, and the fish were all secured. And then how true to all that we know of the two is John's lead in discernment, and Peter's lead in action. The incident of the cloak gives a realistic touch. It is all so natural. In view of the later words of the Lord, which took their form from the act of Peter as he girt his cloak about him after the meal was done, the narrator bears in mind how the impetuous disciple had hastily bound his outer garment around him as he leapt into the lake. He would take it off to dry before they sat to eat, and the act of regirding it, when they had finished the repast, would take place at the moment he was replying to the thrice-repeated question of the Lord.

It is the restraint, the sobriety, the simplicity of the narratives, the sceptical attitude of the early witnesses, and the sudden cessation of the appearances, which leads us to dissent from those who try to explain all by a theory of visions: such a theory fails to fit the facts.

On a review of this great subject, how can we explain the facts which we have endeavoured to collect in the preceding pages of this article; how can we explain the growth and continuance of the Christian Church; how can we explain the weekly observance of the Lord's Day and the joyous celebration of recurring Easter days; and how can we explain the early liturgies, with their notes of praise to a Risen Lord, if we do not believe that He Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Who died and was buried, was also raised again on the third day according to the Scripture and ascended into Heaven, where He sitteth on the right hand of God the Father?

H. J.

OUR LORD'S LAST DAYS ON EARTH.

Somewhere, in a passage which I cannot now trace, Oliver Wendell Holmes impresses on the Bible student the importance of *depolarising* the text, by which phrase I take him to mean the importance of ascertaining the real order of events, of recovering the meaning words bore to the first recorder, or even to the first speaker. The textual critic may effect this by recovering the original reading of the Greek, the exegetical by working out local allusions, as Ramsay does in his Letters to the Seven Churches, or as Abbott by tracing the Aramaic word which the Greek represents; and at a lower level each one of us more or less consciously tries to puzzle out the story by comparing and fitting together the several records of several writers. This, which we are always doing more or less, we are forced to do every year when Holy Week brings before us for study on successive days the fourfold record of the Lord's last days. I will not say that study removes all difficulties, *e.g.*, the difference of the chronology of John and the Synoptics, but I do think the four records are mutually supplementary, and mutually explanatory. Let me submit my version for the reader's consideration, claiming indulgence for the frank statement of personal opinion, and the free use of the personal pronoun: there is as little modesty in the phrase 'it has occurred to the present writer' as a substitute for 'I think,' as in the page of compliments which opens an Indian state letter and is cut down in translation into 'After compliments.'

But—'What think I of Christ?' That He was Very God and Very Man; yet surely the reality of the Manhood is not consistent with the constant consciousness of Divinity which orthodoxy requires. How could He be made 'like unto us in all things,' how 'suffer being tempted,' if the Manhood had

been assumed only as a mask to the Divinity, as the bait, to quote Gregory the Great, which was to hide from the Enemy the hook of Divinity? What was the point of His rebuke to the faithlessness of the disciples 'Cannot? Why, see what I do! If ye had faith!' All the resources of omnipotence were at His disposal through His unfailing trust in the Father. In one place He could do no mighty work because, through the keenness of His sympathy, want of faith in the bystanders chilled His confidence. And in what sense could He appeal to His coming death as an evidence of love if He kept in view the fact that it was the end of humiliation and pains, and the door of return to surpassing glory? May not the human spirit set free on the Cross even have trembled at the discovery of its august Indweller?

And what was He to contemporaries? Well known indeed in Galilee where not all were friendly, where to a chosen few He was perhaps a giver of great promotion, but certainly a beloved Master, known intimately in weary marches and chilly bivouacs, blessing the scanty store in the wanderers' wallet, a Teacher of things which seemed simple but became deeper the longer they were looked into, but above all and through all a Leader to be followed to death and beyond. But in Jerusalem—a very few 'hoped it had been He who should have redeemed Israel': to Caiaphas He was what a Dukhobor may be to M. Pobiedonostzeff; to cultured rabbis, one of the people who 'know not the law,' a man not 'in orders,' a man of 'no degree,' a rough peasant speaking an uncouth dialect with an uncouth burr, a possible Church-brawler; to the police a source of trouble through influence with the turbulent Galileans; but to the multitude, citizens¹ and pilgrims together, can we say that he was known to one in fifty? Even the police who came to arrest him needed a token from the traitor. Rather, I conjecture that when the guard forced a way for the sad procession through the crowded bazaar, drawing after it idlers to look on for a short hour, one shopkeeper might ask

¹ See Note A at end.

his neighbour the names of the sufferers and their reputed crimes, and might repeat his question many times before he learnt that the least known of the three was 'Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee.' To us who know how wonderful, and fateful, was the event, such indifference may seem incredible; but the greatest events in history are not those which at the time make most noise.

A great deal has been written about the date at which the events of this week might have been put in writing, not when the Gospels were written, but the rough material the evangelists may have had before them; but I think the rubbish heaps of Oxyrynchus, dating from the next century, dispose of the question: the illspelt letter of a petulant schoolboy and many other papers of like family unimportance indicate that letters were written much as they are nowadays, and in this case there can be little doubt that the first Galilean going north after the Passover would be charged with a bundle of letters, friendly and unfriendly, telling what had happened to the Prophet of Galilee.

But enough of preface. The last Friday was spent in the walk from Jericho where He had passed the night in the house of Zacchæus. It must have been a sad and silent march: 'they were in the way going up to Jerusalem and Jesus went before them, and as they followed they were afraid.' There was cause enough for fear, the air was full of crisis; though the Lord may not have told of the coming woes as often, and in as much detail, as the Evangelists report, the events of the last visit to Jerusalem left no doubt how the next would end: even the person of the traitor was plain to Jesus whose sensitive nature would distinguish the sullenness of Judas from the sadness of the rest. There was no refreshment in the bare ravines, and they must have been travel-worn when near evening they reached Bethany. Whatever became of the rest, I fancy He spent the Sabbath in peace under the roof of the Sisters. After the Sabbath was done, Martha made a feast whereat, no doubt, were present her chief friends come to do honour to the Benefactor, some of the Twelve—surely not all, though more than

the Three, for Judas was of the number. On this occasion as Martha did not appeal for help in serving, Mary was free for the most remarkable incident of the evening. Some people think it only a bungled reminiscence of that other ointment offered by the 'woman that was a sinner,' but this surely was rather the precedent which suggested Mary's act; to the former it was the only possible offering to the Master Who was so willing to 'receive sinners' and Whom she could not otherwise approach, and on this hint Mary paid her devotions to the Restorer of her brother. The natural surprise expressed by several at the costly 'waste' elicited from the Master a graceful defence, which the embittered mind of Judas took as a personal affront. To him thus prepared for treachery, in the midst of the triumphal procession the malignant eyes of the ruling faction suggested a plan: it was easy to open communications, and it was settled that he should find a chance of giving Jesus up, and then take his price. Night after night, however, the party went out to bivouac on the Mount where Judas could fix no rendezvous, but at last he found they were to spend the night within the walls, and then arranged with the rulers to be ready with their armed party. They had bought him cheap; the 30 pieces of silver were not worth one pound if they were denarii, and little over three pounds if they were shekels: even at the larger value the amount can scarcely have sufficed to buy a patch of ground near the city: they had bought him cheap.

But he could not complete his treason till he knew the house at which the supper was to be eaten. At the other feasts the hosts of pilgrims may have found shelter in tents, or in villages not too distant to allow of attendance at the Temple services, but at Passover all wanted to begin a solemn protracted meal at the same hour, a meal for which the chief preparation could not be made anywhere but in the Temple, nor before the afternoon of the day. Residents might be ready enough to offer shelter, but all must have had claimants; and there can have been no turning in at a chance door to look for hospitality, and I take it that Jesus had asked one of the wealthier of the

few Judean disciples to secure a sufficient room, and had settled a meeting, perhaps at the Temple gate after the morning service. There the messenger, marked out by his pitcher of water, awaited Peter and John to guide them; on their challenge the prepared room was shown, already purified, perhaps already furnished with the wine and cups, the bitter herbs and bread and lights the ritual demanded, nothing wanting except the lamb, which also must have been bought, and approved as without blemish beforehand; this Peter may have taken to the Temple to be killed, while John went away to meet the Master.

When the party arrived there was some jostling; Peter was taking his usual place next to Jesus when Judas, afraid of some appointment being made without his knowledge, on pretence of being steward claimed the nearest seat; on the Lord's gentle reproof Peter threw himself into the lowest place, and so was naturally the first, because the most accessible, to whom the Lord came with the basin. Seated again, Jesus went on with the supper, till, oppressed with the foreknowledge of the coming woe, He gave the sad warning of treason: Judas was the last to reply but was still unsuspected, S. John scarcely understood the Lord's answer to his whisper, and the sop given to Judas as the honoured guest seemed to the rest a mark of honour and favour, to Judas a sign that his design was still a secret, and was in fact his Master's last appeal: even he could not doubt that it was known to Jesus when the 'What thou doest do' was uttered. The Lord's next words seem to me His triumph cry; whatever anxiety as to the failure of the human will had tried Him, now all was settled, the traitor ensured there should be no 'looking back'; such was Sir Thomas More's 'I thank my God the battle is won' as he took boat for Lambeth, only to leave it for the Tower and the block.

Beyond remarking that Peter and James rejoiced greatly over the foresight which had caused them alone to provide arms, I will not linger in the upper room. The discourses recorded by Luke and John¹ are pitched in different keys; neither

¹ See Note B at end.

record can be a verbatim report, neither can give more than the points of the spoken word, and it is hard to find time for the events recorded from that night up to the first fixed point, which I take to be the meeting of the Sanhedrim at sunrise. It must be remembered, too, that if the delay in the upper room had been long, Judas would have been back before the party left: the rulers must have desired to effect the arrest as soon as the streets were quiet and cannot have *wished* to send a 'multitude' with lanterns and torches and weapons.' For the same reason I would put the Lord's challenge as late in the meal as I could.

Arrived at Gethsemane, Jesus left the Eight under the trees, leading the Three within the enclosure for the comfort of their presence and the opportunity of last words; but the feeling of loneliness came over Him so strongly that He was forced away, and as He fell on His face in supplication, they heard the first pathetic prayer: regaining composure, after some time, He returned, only to find them sleeping; driven apart by a new burst of distress, again He fell on His face, just so near that they heard 'the same word.' Comforted by angels, He came back again, but now sees and hears the traitor's party and awaits the end.

Judas, coming back to the House with his men finds the room empty, and, trembling for his own neck as well as his reward, hurries off to Olivet on the chance; Mark, aroused by the visit, without stopping to dress runs off on the same line, but, having to make a round to avoid the enemy, is too late to warn. On the hill, in the light of the Paschal moon, Judas sees the group of the Eight, and sending a party to the gate of the garden, himself runs to look at the rest to whom he would still be unsuspected; before he reached the gate, the two challenges recorded by St. John have passed and he finds his men trembling in the presence of Him of Whose miraculous powers they had heard exaggerated tales, till Judas threw himself on Him as in an Oriental embrace, so effectually preventing resistance. Peter's fruitless and censured effort completed the discomfiture of the disciples, who all 'forsook Him and fled.'

¹ See Note C at end.

Now I fancy it was about two a.m.; the men bound their Victim, and led Him to the private house in which the whole family of the High Priest lived in patriarchal fashion, and here He was bandied about from one to another till the approach of dawn warned them to lead Him away for a shew of lawful trial before the Sanhedrim in the hall Gazzith. In these hours the most striking event was Peter's denial, not caused, I think, by any malignity or hostility of the bystanders: first comes the girl who kept the door, anxious lest she should have made a mistake; Peter denies, is let alone, but then tries vainly to make his escape; again he is challenged by maid and man now beginning to be suspicious, and again denies; but now a new suspicion arrives: challenged as to his attack on Malchus, he breaks down in utter terror to oaths and adjurations till the Lord's calm look, as He is led from hall to hall, recalls him to himself, and he bursts away to hide from all till the tragedy is finished.

The pause in the hall Gazzith was not, I take it, very long: they would have been glad of good evidence, but failing it put up with false, or rather half false, helped out by His reply to the High Priest's unlawful adjuration; accepting Caiaphas' ruling on the point of law, they pronounced the only possible sentence, and left him to carry it out. I am not concerned to dwell on the manifold illegalities scholars have found in the procedure.

Now they lead Him away to Pilate, who, like any Indian official at a religious fair in these days, had got up extra early to have his work well in hand, and be ready for possible emergencies. Their cool assumption that he had nothing to do but give effect to their sentence does not soothe his temper already irritated by the interruption,¹ and he answers them drily; as they stand their ground he goes back, for the first time looks at the prisoner, and with a very short colloquy satisfies himself that here Cæsar has nothing to fear. So he tries to pooh-pooh the case, and, hoping to save his day and please both Jews and Herod by making 'the Galilean' over to

¹ See Note D at end.

His native lord, sends them away to Herod; but 'that fox' was not so easily caught: he sees plainly enough the handle he might give Pilate either by condemning where a Roman court was sitting, or by discharging a prisoner charged with sedition, and sends him back to Pilate. In all this time is lost, in the double march, in getting access to Herod, in his attempt to see some conjuring tricks, and then in the mockery; so it is nearly eight when they get back to the Prætorium. There the struggle of the already beaten Pilate begins: he goes out and sees a larger crowd than before, and tries to get the newcomers to ask for Jesus; but they know nothing of Him, and have come to claim their own friend Barabbas. 'What shall I do to your Messiah—to the King of the Jews?' Then a shout, 'If you must crucify somebody, crucify Him!' One more effort; he is again at work when, after the scourging and mockery, the centurion comes for orders about the crime to be set forth on the title: looking up and seeing the tortured and bowed form, he will try if the sight will move them as it moves him inured to suffering by the spectacle of the amphitheatre; but now they thirst for a scene of torture, and on a hinted charge of disloyal weakness Pilate yields finally.

As soon as he had recovered from his first terror, John hurried after his Lord, and throughout has kept as close to Him as circumstances will permit, even in the Judgment Hall, and now posts off to the Virgin with the doleful news; before they reach the place of execution, the cross is already set upright, and so they are too late for the forgiving word, which was, I fancy, uttered at the time of the nailing. The humanity of the centurion in charge allows the little band to approach the cross, so that weeping mother and dying Son may exchange last words, but he cannot let them loiter, he must keep a space clear around the crosses, lest by degrees a crowd collect and attempt a rescue. Jesus too would spare His mother, and commending her to John, sends them away; no doubt John hastened,¹ but did not get back till near the end. Meanwhile,

¹ See Note E at end.

as the fever grew, excited by the mockeries of the bystanders, not perhaps many in number, the one thief joined in reviling Him, to be rebuked by the other, whose wonderful faith was rewarded by as wonderful a blessing. Then comes the darkness and the mysterious cry, and so the appointed time drew on; then He asks for water, that the last words might not be choked, utters His cry of triumph, 'It is finished,' in a voice so loud as to attract the attention of the friends looking on from the city wall, and lastly the commendation, the last human utterance; as every breath of the human life had been spent in the Father's service, well might that life be closed by the solemn offering of the last.

It must now have been about half-past three; in another hour the sun visibly sinking reminds the rulers of the need of clearing away the signs of suffering before the Sabbath; they and Joseph come to Pilate at the same time, and Pilate is the more ready to gratify Joseph because so he irritates the Jews, but first he must be satisfied that his sentence has been duly executed, then gives the body to Joseph. To take it down was not the heavy task painters figure: the upright was not more than eight feet long, and so, when the stones which kept it steady were removed, one man standing behind could support it and lower it gradually. But it was now near sundown, and no time was to be lost in carrying out the last sad offices; two men could carry the body away to the tomb, the women followed to see where it was to be laid, and then went away to buy their 'spices and ointments' before the Sabbath closed the shops; the washing of the mangled body was finished by the time Nicodemus brought his myrrh and aloes; by sunset the swathed body was hidden in the tomb, and the women knew not that their loving ministry was no longer needed. So on Sunday morning very early they came to fulfil it, but the Lord had gone before! before the earthquake and the angel had moved the great stone the Lord had gone! The wrappings were there and the spices just as they had been left on Friday, but the Body they had shrouded had ceased to be in the tomb!

Here I must stop; to discuss the evidences of the Resurrection, and the appearances of the Lord, would carry me beyond my plan. Yet one word to finish the story of Judas. He brings back the bag of money, finds some of the rulers in the hall Gazzith, is mocked by them, dashes past them up the steps between altar and sanctuary where no foot but a priest's might tread, flings the bag into the sanctuary itself! and rushes away to his despairing death. But he might have been worse, he might have bought the field and turned it into a market garden under the patronage of the priests, and died in the odour of sanctity as a regular church-goer. And Caiaphas might have been worse; he got rid of Jesus as a piece of policy, lest He should cause rebellion and upset the established order, but he might have done so believing Him to be the Messiah who should come. Everybody might have been worse, everybody but Pilate! he condemned Jesus to a death of agony and disgrace while declaring Him to be innocent, over and over again, by word and sign. His dinner party that night must have been a strange one; the host thoroughly out of temper, feeling that he had been jockeyed by the hated and despised Jews, and driven half wild by the mistaken flatterers who reminded him that he would have been right in cutting down a thousand in a riot, *a fortiori* in killing one to save the effort. 'Yes—a thousand of the villains against their will, in open fight, but one poor creature at their bidding!' I fancy they did not find him in a temper to humour them when they came next night to ask for a guard: 'Harass my soldiers and break up my garrison to please you on such a fool's errand! Ye have a guard, make your own arrangements.'

NOTE A.—The romance of Josephus has such influence still on the imagination that it may be worth while to make some corrective extracts from Smith's Dictionary. Fergusson dealt with the subject in the first edition. After ridiculing Josephus' estimate of three millions as inside the walls at the siege, he puts aside also Tacitus' more modest figures of 600,000, and points out how 300,000 would have been more crowded than (in 1851) the sightseers at the Crystal Palace at its most crowded moments, 'eating, drinking, sleeping or fighting would be literally impossible.' 'The population of Jerusalem, in its days of greatest prosperity, may have amounted to from

30,000 to 45,000 souls, but could hardly ever have reached 50,000; and assuming that at times of festival one half were added to this amount, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came up against it.' Sir Charles Wilson, in the second edition, makes the calculation anew, but for the result mostly adopts Fergusson's words. In another place Josephus gives the number of lambs slaughtered at a single passover as 256,500; a tenth of that number of men could not have marched through the gate of the Court of Israel in the two hours assigned for slaughtering; they had to enter two abreast, each to cut the throat of his lamb so that the blood might fall into the basin of the priest at the end of one of the two lines, pass on, skin the lamb, take out and wash the offal, hand over the fat to a priest for burning, replace the offal, and leave the Court; whether they then waited till it grew dark I cannot tell, one passage in Smith's seems to say so, but the space was too narrow, and indeed Josephus' two hours seem far too short even for the slaughter of the 1,000 lambs which might suffice for the residents in the city. Among the pilgrims the proportion of adult males, the only ones required to eat, would be larger and so the proportion of lambs required.

NOTE B.—It may be suggested that much of John xiv.-xvi. may be based on St. John's recollection of discourses uttered on the way from Jericho to Bethany.

NOTE C.—Of what did the party consist? There were three bodies at Jerusalem who might have supplied it; the regular garrison, the Temple guard and the town police. If it had been drawn from the first, the centurion in command would have made short work of the disorderly mob which was more likely to alarm the quarry than secure it, and would surely have taken the prisoner back to his own chiefs; the order would have been 'Bring such a man,' and the duty would only have been discharged by bringing him, not by leaving him in some house by the way. Very likely hangers-on of the Temple were among the mob, but not enrolled men told off on regular duty: the town police would have sufficed and would no doubt be under the influence of the rulers. The same force supplied the guard for the sepulchre and this explains the rulers' promise of indemnity. Pilate was not likely to hear of the employment of a police party, and would care much less about their negligence than about legionaries sleeping on duty.

NOTE D.—I can fancy him saying 'Stupid people—why can't they come into court like other folk?' and as, if I understand John, they would have done on other days; then he might have disposed of a case by a curt order, but now he has to march out with all the pomp of lictors and curule chair and clerks attendant.

NOTE E.—'No doubt John hastened.' Latham explains the delay by saying that John took the Virgin to Bethany, and turns this suggestion to account in explaining the events of Sunday. He may be right, but Ramsay points out that to Orientals, then as now, Mark's 'third hour' would mean little more than 'in the course of the forenoon,' so his absence may not have been long enough to allow for the incident with the thieves and the mysterious cry.

ROBERT TAYLOR.

THE GROWTH OF CREEDS.

II.

A strict examination of the New Testament does not disclose any developed creed or confession. All that we can with certainty point to is the simple confession contained in such passages as these: 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, save in the Holy Ghost' (I. Cor. xii. 3)—'It thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved' (Rom. x. 9)—'Whosoever confesses that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God' (I. John iv. 15)—'Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?' (I. John v. 5).

Both the form and the context of I. Cor. xii. 3 suggest that the mention is of a recognised formula, Jesus is Lord. The watchword of belief and active unbelief are opposed to one another—*Κύριος Ἰησοῦς* and *Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*. The language of I. John, especially in the Greek, suggests it still more strongly. As we read, 'every spirit that confesseth (*ὁμολογεῖ*) that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God' (I. John iv. 2), we are not likely to imagine that the reference is to a fixed form of belief: but I. John iv. 15 (quoted above) gives that impression, and the use of the aorist tense (*ὅς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ*) instead of the present tense which is used in I. John iv. 2 points to some single definite act of confession. Whether the words *ὁμολογεῖν* and *ὁμολογία* are ever used in the New Testament in a technical sense is, apart from such evidence as the above, not certain. It seems very likely that in I. Tim. vi. 12 (*ὁμολόγησαι τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων*), there is a reference to the baptismal confession, and in Heb. x. 22-23 'the confession of our hope' is mentioned just after a reference to baptism. In

other cases there is no reason for giving a technical sense to the word, but equally no reason for refusing it.

The accumulated force of such pieces of evidence is very considerable. It leads us to say that it is highly probable that there are references in the New Testament to baptismal creeds and that in some places, at least in Asia Minor, the baptismal confession was the simple one:—I believe that Jesus is the Son of God. One additional piece of evidence raises the probability almost to a certainty.

The Johannine writings most undoubtedly were composed in Asia Minor. From that part of the world came also the two writers, Papias and Irenæus, to whom we are chiefly indebted for information about the origin of the New Testament writings. The latter became Bishop of Lyons in S. Gaul, but he spent his early life in Smyrna as a disciple of Polycarp, who was himself a disciple of St. John. It is likely that so earnest and learned a Christian as Irenæus would have in his possession before he left his native land a copy of the Acts. We see from a quotation that his manuscript included verse 37 of the eighth chapter as we read it in the Authorised Version, containing the confession of the Ethiopian eunuch whom Philip baptised—"I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." But they have no part in the true text and the verse is missing in the R.V. Some scribe feeling sure that the convert professed his faith must have added the confession in the margin, whence it crept into the text. But the quotation in Irenæus is the earliest trace of this corruption of the received text and points to Asia Minor as the probable source: therefore, since the probability is that the same confession is referred to in the first epistle of S. John which we know emanated from Asia Minor, the conclusion that the baptismal confession of that part of the Christian world was 'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God' seems almost certain. Against it is the difference in the order of the Greek in Acts viii. 37 (A.V.) and I. John iv. 15, but it is not an insuperable objection in the case of a form of words so simple that one hesitates to speak of them as a formula.

THE PATTERN OF SOUND WORDS.

By the end of the first century the 'churches of Asia' and churches elsewhere were on the point of adopting a longer creed. In fact the transition may have taken place within the first century in some churches, for the need of a summary of right teaching was great and the tendency towards the use of fixed forms was strong.

Those who have any experience of Christians of the present day whose worship is not liturgical are aware how rapidly a norm of expression emerges amongst them, when outside influences and different customs do not interfere. Such a development we should naturally expect in Apostolic Christianity, and that expectation is supported by elements of liturgical worship which appear in the New Testament, by the existence of very primitive elements in the ancient liturgies, and by the provision in the Didache of a form of eucharistic prayer to be used in the absence of a prophet.

We need not go outside the bounds of the New Testament to find proofs of the existence of schemes of instruction. It was indeed not long ago the common explanation of the origin of the first three gospels to state that they were the independent results in writing of an oral instruction so thorough, with such care for preserving the form of words, and with such attention to certain limits, that three gospels were created with the most striking similarities in order, matter and language. We may hold in the main the generally accepted theory of the present, that the similarities are due to the use of common documents, without abandoning the belief that the catechetical instruction of the members of the Church of the first days was very careful and thorough, and according to a natural and generally accepted order or scheme (See Luke i. 1-4; Acts x. 36-43; I. Cor. xv. 1-8). Moreover, there were short summaries of the tradition and the teaching, catechisms if not creeds. The New Testament passages which are sometimes appealed to as referring to an apostolic creed at least support this.

There was 'a pattern of sound words'—probably a catechism of Christian truth rather than what we understand by a creed. In the epistles to Timothy we read of the *παραθήκη* which has been committed to Timothy, and we may translate the word 'deposit' or more generally 'that which is committed to one.' Twice it occurs. 'O Timothy, guard the deposit, avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called.' (I. Tim. vi. 20). 'Hold fast the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. That good deposit guard by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.' (II. Tim. i. 13.) Something very definite seems to have been committed to Timothy. In the first passage it is contrasted with profane babblings and speculation: in the second it appears to be equivalent to the 'pattern of sound words.' The natural interpretation of *παραθήκη* is therefore a summary of teaching which is definite in form and avoids speculation. This interpretation is not undisputed; opinion is swayed one way or the other in this case by presuppositions as to the character and method of teaching in the Church of the Apostolic Age.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

We have said that the Church was ripe for a creed at the end of the first century, and as a matter of fact local baptismal creeds are now proved to have been in existence not long after that period. Yet we do not discover the full and exact form of any creed before the fourth century. The historical records of that century are deluged with them; for it is the period of the Arian Controversy. The churchmen of the time, when they wished to turn an opponent's position, issued a creed. The bishop accused of heresy cleared himself by reciting a creed. Thus Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Asia Minor, an exile from his see, and accused of Sabellian heresy, proved his orthodoxy to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, by reciting a creed. The confession was considered satisfactory—naturally so, for Marcellus recited the Roman Creed, that which we now know as the Apostles' Creed. Probably it goes back to about the year 100

for its beginning, and yet, if so, it is in existence for two and a half centuries before it appears in its exact form in any literature which is now extant. That is only one example of the well-known dislike of the early Christians to make public their sacred things. This reticence was due partly to fear of persecution, partly to shrinking from the blasphemous uses to which they might be put by the heathen; and anyone who has come into contact with persons who have learnt some of the set forms of religion without the fear of God, and are unchecked in their thoughtlessness or their hostility to religion by a code of manners, can sympathise with the Christians of the second and third centuries for a reserve which in later times became foolish and superstitious.

The Creed which Marcellus professed was the following: square brackets enclose the clauses of a later date familiar to us in the Apostles' Creed.

I believe in God [the Father] Almighty
[Maker of Heaven and Earth]
And in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son, our Lord,
Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried;
The third day He rose again from the dead,
And ascended into heaven,
And sitteth on the right hand of the Father,
From thence He shall come to judge the living and the
dead.
And [I believe] in the Holy Ghost,
The Holy Church,
[The Communion of Saints]
The Forgiveness of Sins,
The Resurrection of the Flesh
[And the Life Everlasting.]

Its basis is the baptismal formula, with which is fused the Confession of Jesus Christ as the Lord, the Son of God. Upon that is imposed the outline of the life of Jesus, 'manifested in the flesh,' 'received up in glory.' That was a necessary part of catechetical teaching and the early attack upon the reality of

the Incarnation, the attempt to explain the Deity of Christ by denying to Him a real and bitter human experience, made emphatic assertion of the tradition all the more essential. The form and contents of a baptismal creed are natural and inevitable: they are everywhere the same in substance though not in phrasing.

Into the evidences of the date of this creed we shall not inquire: they are very complex. It must be sufficient to say that it is generally agreed that it existed at Rome in A.D. 150; so that its origin falls probably within the first half of the second century. Neither can we discuss all the evidences for the statement that this creed was changed by the Church to parry the attacks of those who were considered heretical. Every sort of heresy came to Rome in the second and third centuries, and there is nothing antecedently improbable in the suggestion that the Church which adopted a particular form of words to express the main articles of the common Christian Faith, might modify them in order to express its faith more clearly and securely, especially during the earlier years of the creed's history, before it had gained a character of such rigidity and sacredness that its clauses were ascribed to the twelve apostles. It would not have been surprising if, in answer to the wide-spread Gnostic belief that matter was evil and that therefore the earth and the bodies of men could not have been the work of the Almighty and Good God, the Roman Church had added the clause which we use—Maker of Heaven and Earth. But it did not, and therefore we conclude, in the first place, that the creed is earlier than the active period of the Gnostic heresies, that is, it must be an early product of the century; and, in the second place, that from the very first there was a strong feeling against the alteration of the creed.

On the other hand, there is good evidence which points in the other direction. It is exceedingly difficult to determine whether the epithet 'Only' or 'Only Begotten' was added to 'Son' or not: and there is a very strong case for saying that at the beginning of the third century the Roman candidate for

baptism professed his belief in 'One God the Father Almighty' and that later the adjective 'one' was removed.

What was the reason of that change? Possibly, a very unhappy experience of the Roman Church: its bishops threw in their lot with false teachers, who reconciled the difficulties of belief in one God with belief in Christ as God, by saying that the Father and the Son were simply different outward manifestations of the One God, so that it would be possible to say, 'I believe in one God, Jesus Christ.' The minority, who finally won back the Church to its old faith, did not cease to believe in one God, but they found that hidden in that adjective there was, for their times, a secret spring which if pressed telescoped the three divisions of the creed into one with much ruin, and *perhaps* to safeguard the whole creed they removed the word that caused the mischief.

That division of opinion at Rome reminds us that with the third century the Trinitarian Controversy of the Primitive Church really began. It led to a great development in the making of creeds and to the imposition of a universal creed as a test of orthodoxy. That position had already been reached for the West by the Roman Creed.

H. D. LOCKETT.

(To be continued.)

THE BIBLICAL STORY OF CREATION.

II.

In a previous article¹ we outlined the conclusions of reverent and sober critics with regard to the nature of the inspiration of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis. We showed that the science of that chapter was not modern science and could not be accommodated to it, nor yet was it peculiar to the Hebrews; it belonged rather to the Semitic race and to the age in which the book was written. We then stated wherein lay the true value of the story of Creation, namely, in its religious teaching; though in appearance it was only a narrative and nothing more, yet in reality it contained some of the deepest truths of our faith. We asserted that it was a religious and not a scientific account of the universe and of the beginnings of things, and that its importance for us consisted in the thoughts and principles which it enshrined, rather than in the particular manner in which it represented the facts of creation as having taken place; and we attempted to indicate some of the permanent lessons about God and man and the universe which we are there taught under the guise of a narrative.

We are convinced, then, that in the light of modern research we are not now compelled to believe that the world as we know it was created in six literal days, nor that it came into existence in the order suggested by the opening chapter of the Old Testament. If further proof be needed, we have only to turn to the second and varying account of Creation which is given us in Gen. ii. 4-25.

¹ February, 1905.

THE SECOND ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

No sooner is one story of Creation completed and rounded off by attributing a Divine sanction to the day of rest (Gen. ii. 1-3) than another begins. This latter is sometimes regarded as a kind of supplement to the former narrative, explaining the phenomena of Genesis i. from a different point of view. But, while it is true to say that the first chapter describes Creation primarily in its relation to the Universe, and that the second describes it in its relation to Man, yet the two narratives will be found on examination to be in many respects contradictory and mutually exclusive.

DIFFERENCE IN ORDER.

Gen. ii. 4-25 presupposes, indeed, the existence of the heaven and the earth, but it takes us back to a period when the earth was dry and barren, when no plant or herb had as yet sprung up, and when there was no rain to water the earth, but only a mist which used to rise from time to time. Then the Lord God formed¹ man out of the dust of the ground and blew into his nostrils the breath of life. Here man appears not as the culmination of an upward movement, the climax of a series of creative acts, but as the first of all the creatures both in dignity and in time. For him the animals were formed and for him the garden was planted with its trees pleasant for the eyes and good for food; for him also was made, last of all, a woman who should satisfy that craving for moral and intellectual companionship which he failed to find in the brute creation.

DIFFERENCE IN TREATMENT.

The variation in order between the two narratives is obvious. The difference in their explanation of the facts of creation is equally clear. For example, the earth, instead of arising out of the waters which submerged it (i. 9), is represented as being dry (ii. 5) and incapable of producing

¹ The same word is used in the Old Testament of the potter moulding the clay. Dillmann cites the classical parallel of Prometheus forming the first men out of earth mixed with water.

vegetation; while the second cosmogony knows nothing of the six 'days,' the first has no mention of the ascending mist and no description of Eden as man's abode, though both might well have been fitted in with his artificial scheme. Or again, mankind, instead of being made 'in the image of God' (i. 27), is said to have been formed from the dust, and to have fallen from grace because he attempted to become as God, knowing good and evil (iii. 5); and woman, of whose creation a special account is given (ii. 21-22), instead of being made contemporaneously with man, is introduced in order to supply to the lord of creation what the beasts could not give him (ii. 20). Further the interests and 'morals' of the two accounts differ; while the interests of the second narrative lie mainly in the garden of Eden, no reference being made to the sea and the fishes, the first narrative includes the whole universe within its scope—heaven and earth and everything that has life; and, while the moral of the one story is 'the observance of the Sabbath' as 'sanctioned by the Divine example,' that of the other is 'the sanctity of marriage as sanctioned by primitive usage.'

DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

An examination of the two narratives will reveal a marked difference between them both in vocabulary and in general style. Avoiding the use of Hebrew words and phrases, we will indicate some of these divergencies. Instead of 'creating' the human race (i. 27), God 'forms' or 'fashions' man (ii. 5) and 'builds' one of his ribs 'into' a woman (ii. 22); instead of 'beast of the earth' (i. 25, 30), the expression 'beast of the field' is used (ii. 19-20); and, while this last and the similar phrases 'plant of the field' and 'herb of the field' (ii. 5) are not found in the first chapter, the second chapter makes no reference to the 'creeping' and 'swarming things' of the former cosmogony (ii. 20-30).

The two narratives differ in general style as well as in vocabulary. Though possessing a stateliness and grandeur all

its own,¹ the first account gives us the impression of being artificially designed. It is measured and methodical, ordered and precise. Its sentences are 'cast into the same mould.' It shows a careful regard for symmetry and the frequent use of similar words and phrases. It supplies no more details than it is absolutely necessary to supply; and yet it likes to 'describe an object in full each time it is introduced' with all the precision and accuracy of a legal document.² On the other hand, the second account is full of life and movement, and unhampered by any striving after form. Its style is bright, descriptive, graphic, and reveals 'the freshness of the elder time.' Incidental touches and picturesque details take the place of measured outlines and set phrases. The difference between the two styles, as Professor Driver points out, is the difference between the style of a jurist and that of a historian.

DIFFERENCE OF THEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT.

The second narrative, instead of using 'God' (*'Elohim'*) simply, speaks of Him as the Lord God (*'Jehovah 'Elohim'*). And along with this change in the Divine Name there comes a new way of representing the Deity. The theology of Gen. ii. is what is technically known as 'anthropomorphic,' that is to say, human actions, qualities and affections are ascribed to the Godhead. It is naïve and unsophisticated. 'Jehovah walks and talks almost as a man with men.' Whereas in the first account God is generally revealed as 'speaking' or only by means of those simple expressions without which it would be impossible to speak of God at all, in the second account God is represented as 'performing a series of sensible acts': He 'plants' the garden and 'walks' in it in the cool of the evening; He 'forms' man and 'breathes' into his nostrils the breath of life; He 'forms' the animals and 'brings' them to

¹ Nothing can surpass the austere charm of v. 3: 'And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.'

² Note the recurrence of sentences like the following: 'And there was evening and there was morning one (a second, etc.) day'; 'and God said . . .'; 'and God saw that it was good'; 'and it was so.' Note also the frequent occurrence of the expression 'after its (or their) kind.'

the man to be named; and He 'takes' a rib from the man, 'closes up' the opening, and 'builds' a woman out of it.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM: A COMBINATION OF TWO DOCUMENTS BY DIFFERENT WRITERS.

Enough has now been said to suggest that at the outset of the Old Testament we have to deal with two different documents placed side by side by a later editor. This is no 'new-fangled' theory. As long ago as the seventeenth century critics felt that the Book of Genesis was a compilation out of several documents. But it was not till the following century that a clue was found for the solution of the problem. In 1753 Jean Astruc, a French physician and Roman Catholic, threw out a hint which modern criticism has developed into a more or less conclusive working hypothesis. He noticed that some parts of Genesis regularly called God '*Elohim*', while others consistently spoke of Him as '*Jehovah*.' He then placed the '*Elohim*' passages over against the '*Jehovah*' passages, and found that the result was two parallel narratives. He supposed these to be independent documents which were finally arranged by Moses. But later critics have shown that these two or rather three (for the '*Jehovah*' sections are themselves composite) documents run through the whole of the Pentateuch and to the end of the Book of Joshua.

A detailed proof of the composite character of the Hexateuch in general and the Book of Genesis in particular would occupy many papers, but one or two illustrations may be given here. The story of the flood is a notable instance. The following passage (vi. 9-13):

(a) '*These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, and perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before 'Elohim and the earth was filled with violence. And 'Elohim saw the earth and behold it was corrupt: for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And 'Elohim*

said unto Noah, The end of *all flesh* is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will *destroy* them with the earth'

is a doublet of vi. 5-8:

(b) 'And *Jehovah* saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented *Jehovah* that He had made man on the earth and He was pained to His heart. And *Jehovah* said, I will *blot out* man whom I have created from the face of the ground; both man, and beast, and *creeping thing*, and fowl of the air: for it repenteth Me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.'

Or again, vi. 18-22:

(a) 'But I will establish My covenant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, *thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee*. And of every living thing of *all flesh*, *two of every sort* shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be *male and female*. Of the fowl *after their kind*, and of the cattle *after their kind*, of every *creeping thing* of the ground *after its kind*, *two of every sort* shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. . . .'

is obviously a variation of vii. 1-5:

(b) 'And *Jehovah* said unto Noah, come *thou and all thy house* into the ark. . . . Of every *clean* beast thou shalt take to thee *seven and seven, each and his mate*; and of the beasts that are not clean two, *each and his mate*; of the fowl also of the air, *seven and seven*. . . . and every living thing that I have made will I *blot out* from off the face of the ground. . . .'

It will be noticed that the quotations (a) belong to the same hand as that which wrote the first story of Creation, while the extracts (b) belong to the writer of Gen. ii. 4, iii. 24. The above illustrations shew not only a difference in style and language but also a difference in the number of animals

which they assert to have entered the ark ; in (a) two of every sort are admitted, in (b) seven pairs of clean animals and one pair of unclean. Other divergencies might also be shown, e.g., as to the length of time the waters remained upon the earth (one account 365 days, the other 61 days).

BABYLONIAN COLOURING.

We are, then, confronted with two apparently contradictory accounts of Creation. Both cannot be correct in regard to the actual details which they describe. The first narrative we have seen to be irreconcilable with modern science, and dependent for its form on a common Semitic tradition. The second is equally incapable of being adapted to modern research. Is its form also ultimately derived from a similar source? We have no direct proof of this ; we have no complete parallel such as that instanced in a former article with relation to Genesis I. But there are certain indications which suggest a high degree of probability ; and we should not be surprised if some day a parallel narrative were dug up among the monuments of antiquity. For example, sacred trees play a prominent part in Babylonian inscriptions ; the rivers Hiddekel (Assyrian, *Idiglat*), and Euphratis (Assyrian, *Puratu*), are Babylonian ; the name Eden may ultimately be derived from Assyr. *Edinu*, a field or plain ; and the formation of man out of the dust apparently has Babylonian parallels. Little touches such as these lead us to infer that, as in the first, so in the second story of Creation, ancient Semitic beliefs formed the framework or setting of the narrative.

THE METHODS OF THE HEBREW HISTORIAN.

We have said that both descriptions, *as* descriptions, cannot be true to actual fact ; that in this sense they are not supplementary but contradictory to each other. But there is a sense (and this is what is all-important to the modern interpreter of God's most Holy Word) in which they *are* supplementary. For we see here the 'inspiration of selection' at

work. God speaks to men through men, and His inspired writers naturally adopt the methods current in their age. What were the methods of ancient Oriental historians? They were certainly not twentieth century or Western methods. When a man to-day sits down to write a history, he reads all the available literature on the subject and turns out a new book, quoting perhaps here and there from his sources. But that was not the method of the Oriental historian.¹ He knew of no law of copyright, and used no inverted commas when he quoted. He 'compiled' his history by piecing together long extracts from his original sources, only inserting of his own work just enough to make a consecutive narrative.

When the editor of the Hexateuch set to work to compile his religious history of Israel from the earliest times to the entry into the promised land of Canaan, he found ready to hand two stories of the Creation—the one a stately and majestic drama, the other a graphic and vivid picture—each containing a wealth of spiritual teaching. Instead of re-writing and combining them together, he placed them side by side and let them speak for themselves. For this we may be devoutly thankful, since the second narrative contains religious truths about mankind which are not brought out so clearly in the first account. In this sense, the second narrative is supplementary and not contradictory to the first.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

When we have disentangled the matter from the form, the kernel from the shell, we shall find in Genesis ii. 4 ff., a number of permanent and universal truths of religion and experience. Avoiding as far as possible the doctrine of the Fall, which is not germane to the subject of this paper, we will try to enunciate briefly one or two of these truths.

1. Man's dual nature. On the one hand, he is formed 'out of the dust of the ground.' This a graphic way of saying that there is a lower side to his nature; he is of the earth

¹ Arabic writers supply excellent examples.

earthly. On the other hand he is instinct with the breath of God: '*Jehovah 'Elohim* . . . breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.' There is a higher side to his nature, by virtue of which he is able to hear God's voice and to have communion and fellowship with Him.

2. Man was originally intended to be happy. Like other nations of antiquity the Hebrew race has its tradition of a Golden Age when there was a 'blithe unconsciousness of right and wrong.' But there is no Persian dualism here, and no suggestion of the pre-existence of evil. This story intimates clearly that sin and evil are not due to God and are no part of the Divine plan. On the contrary, God's fatherly care and interest in man,—and His solicitude for man's comfort and well-being, are strongly emphasised. God saw that man could not live alone, and so provided him with a garden to dwell in, with animals to develop his faculties, and with woman to correspond to his needs of companionship. Man was meant to be a social being; his true personality is only realised in relation to others. And divine sanction is given to monogamic marriage as the highest of human relationships. Woman is man's equal, or as the Hebrew puts it 'a help corresponding to him'; the beautiful parable of vv. 21-25 teaches the close relationship between the two sexes and the dependence of the weaker upon the stronger.

3. Man was made for work. His happiness was not to consist in a dreamy existence of reposeful ease. He was placed in a garden 'to dress it and keep it.' It is futile to attempt to discover the site of Paradise,¹ and those who expend their energies in this way miss the point of the narrative, which is something like this: each man has his own garden, his own faculties and talents for the proper cultivation and development of which he is himself responsible. Man must work with his hands; he must work with his brains also. He is endowed

¹ Many attempts have been made to fix the site of the Garden of Eden (notably one by Delitzsch), but in reality the geography of Gen. ii. 10-15 is that of the ancient world and 'corresponds to nothing on the map of the earth.'

with reason, which enables him to discriminate between one animal and another and to give them names; and he is endowed with the faculty of free will, being able to choose between good and evil, to obey or disobey the Divine command.

Such are some of the truths which are contained in the Second Story of Creation—truths which are not obscured, but rather brought into relief, by the application of critical principles. In outward form and appearance there is, no doubt, something of the myth and fable about the narrative—and necessarily so, for that was ‘the only kind of language available’ to the compiler’s own intelligence and that of his contemporaries; but in substance and in inner meaning it enshrines truths of religion and philosophy which belong to ‘the things which cannot be shaken.’¹

S. L. BROWN.

¹ There are several good commentaries on Genesis available for English readers; e.g., Driver’s ‘Book of Genesis’ in the *Westminster* series, Bishop Ryle’s ‘Early Narrative of Genesis,’ and Dillmann’s ‘Genesis.’ For the above subject see also the article ‘Cosmogony’ in Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible*.

SOME HINTS ON TEACHING THE OLD TESTAMENT.

‘The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.’

‘No one now, I suppose, holds that the first three chapters of Genesis give a literal history—I could never understand how anyone reading them with opened eyes could think they did—yet they disclose to us a Gospel. . . . Poetry is, I think, a thousand times more true than history.’—*Bishop Westcott’s Life*, Vol. II., p. 69.

I was glad to see in *The Interpreter* the discussion of our Lord’s words in relation to the story of Jonah, for much of the contempt shown by half-educated people for the Old Testament is due to the misunderstanding caused by literalists. Not only has this led to profane criticism, but unnecessary distress has been caused, and the spiritual teachings have been lost, as is so well shown in Canon Kennett’s article.

‘No creed or formulary of any Church,’ writes Arch-deacon Wilson, ‘has ever asserted that the Bible is to be literally and prosaically interpreted: there are those who think that believing the Bible means interpreting poetry and metaphor as if it were prose, they do not believe the Bible because they misunderstand it.’

The story of the Flood, incredible as a literal fact, is, as S. Peter recognised, full of teaching when spiritually interpreted, as it is in our own baptismal service: the sea is in Scripture the symbol of the phenomenal and the transitory: in this the unfaithful are drowned, whilst those who believe in God ride in the Ark of Faith triumphantly over the ‘waves of this troublesome world.’

I have a series of five pictures by an unknown artist, in one of which we see the Madonna with the Child sitting calmly in the midst of the overthrow: evidently the artist understood that the floods of ungodliness cannot overwhelm the righteous;

the two pictures of the dove by Watts treat the same subject. Surely the poet and the artists would be as much surprised as Dante would have been, at learning that there are literalists, who require us 'to believe what we know is not true.'

S. Paul does not hesitate to allegorically interpret an incident in the life of Abraham, and in the Exodus narrative. Ramabai Pundita often insisted to me on the blindness of Western people, who would understand literally the figurative expressions of the Bible.

Surely we need not even say, with Canon Driver, that those who wrote the early chapters of Genesis, had 'an anthropomorphic conception of God,' because of the expression that God planted a garden and that Adam heard His voice, any more than we have, when we use such expressions as are found in the Prophets and the Psalms, and in the creeds of Christendom; one must use earthly figures to teach spiritual truth. The forest or garden or Paradise represents for poets of all ages the earth, the scene of man's discipline and temptation: surely, we now hear the voice of God among the trees of our earthly garden, and still the consequences of sin follow on disobedience. 'Woe to the wicked, he shall eat the fruit of his doings.' Death in Scripture is not the putting off of the visible body, but separation from God: the Jews, the literalists, those who searched the Scriptures, thinking by them to have eternal life, scorned the words of Jesus the Living Word, saying, 'Abraham is dead and the prophets, and thou sayest, If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death.' So they thought that the bread which came down from heaven ought to fall from the sky. Our Lord was troubled at the want of comprehension of His own disciples: 'How is it ye do not understand?' He quoted the words from Isaiah, about the blind and the deaf, and repeatedly cried out, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.'

The difficulties of teaching the Old Testament to children need not be greater than that of reading with them the 'Pilgrim's Progress': at first it is only a tale, but the

questioning period comes to the child, and the real meaning is evolved by degrees; the light of Divine truth shineth 'more and more unto the perfect day.' The 'Scribes instructed in the kingdom of God' bring forth to-day out of the treasury things new and old.

The subjoined verses give an interpretation of part of the teaching of the early chapters of Genesis, and have been found by some to be suggestive.

SCIENCE AND SCRIPTURE.

'I will incline mine ear unto a parable.'—Psalm 49, 4.

1.

Poring o'er the ancient records,
Seeking all God's truth to scan,
Pondering the old world story
Of the origin of man.

2.

Dwelling on those truths of science
Written clear on every page
Of the book of Nature, opened
To the Seers of this age.

3.

Seemed it that one book must perish
In the old world's rubbish heap;
Not within the halls of knowledge
Could we both these records keep.

4.

So I seized the seven-sealed parchment
Hastened to the burning pyre,
Threw it down amidst the embers,
Watched it kindling in the fire.

Rev. v. 1.

5.

Ah, my zeal had been too hasty!
Quick I snatched it from the smoke:
Seemed a science roll that lay there,
Though not burnt, its seals were broke.

6.

As I raised it, it fell open,
Outside 'twas a science scroll,
But strange hieroglyphic pictures
Filled the space within the roll.

Ezek. ii. 9-10.
Rom. i. 20.
Isaiah vi. 10.
Matt. xiii. 15, 16.

7.

Then I saw, one was the record
Of the wonders God had wrought,
Outward to the sense revealed,
Inward to the world of thought.

Luke xxiv. 45.

8.

On the outside were blind atoms,
Force and matter, form and light;
On the inside final causes
Will and wisdom, power and sight.

9.

Truths eternal in the language
Of the poets written were—
Mystic pictures, rhythmic music
Meet to reach the inward ear.

Matt. xiii.
Psalm xlix. 4.
Rev. iii. 6.
Luke viii. 18.

10.

So I read once more the story
As 'twas writ within the scroll,
Saw the vision of creation
As 'tis mirrored in the soul.

11.

And the sense-world seemed transfigured
With an unconsuming heat,
As when once the reverent Seer
Loosed his shoes from off his feet.

Exod. iii.

12.

Life eternal, boundless wisdom,
Out of chaos brought forth light;
E'en as now mind, all-embracing
Gives a Kosmos to man's sight.

Gen. i. 1-3.

John i.

13.

And to growing souls revealing
 Here in time the eternal plan,
 In successive visions pictured
 Heaven and earth as seen by man.

14.

And I saw the living creatures
 Who in long procession passed,
 And the Paragon of being,
 Man, the son of God, the last.

Gen. i. 19.
 Gen. i. 20-27.
 Luke iii. 38.

15.

Earth-born Titan, hero heaven-born,
 Twofold life he owns, and birth,
 Tree of lives he finds to feed on,
 Fruit of heaven and fruit of earth.

Gen. ii. 9.
 Gen. i. 27.
 Gen. ii. 7.

16.

Once more turned I to the vision
 Of that garden of the Lord,
 All its glory, all its beauty,
 Pictured in the mystic word.

17.

And a voice within me whispered,
 Not far off beyond the skies,
 Now, as once to ancient Seer,
 Here on earth is Paradise.

Gen. xxviii. 16.

18.

Now within God's garden stand we
 Planted eastward toward the Light,
 Upward gazing, searching, listening,
 Voices reach us from the height.

Gen. ii. 8.
 Gen. iii. 8.

19.

Still of knowledge good and evil
 In the midst a mighty tree,
 Ever growing through the ages,
 Bearing various fruits we see.

Gen. ii. 9.

20.

This God planted for the earth-life,
Bade man tend and make it grow,
Rest beneath its sheltering branches,
Climb its heights the heavens to know.

Gen. ii. 15.

21.

Still the tree of life grows near us,
Bears the fruits of faith and love;
Meekness, temperance, patience, goodness,
Peace and joy its virtues prove.

Prov. iii. 18.
Rev. xxii. 2.
John xv. 1.
Gal. v. 22.

22.

Still the earthborn nature whispers,
Take of all this world can give,
Feed on pleasure, beauty, knowledge,
'Tis by these things that men live.

Gen. iii. 5.

23.

But the voice of truth within us
Warns us 'tis the devil's lie,
Only by God's word man liveth,
Bids us eat not lest we die.

Matt. iv. 4.
Deut. viii. 3.
Phil. iv. 19.
Rev. iii. 1.
John vi. 63.

24.

If indeed the lords of nature
Live as creatures of the sod,
Selling base their glorious birthright,
Living not as sons of God.

Gen. i. 28.

Heb. xii. 16.

25.

Stripped of all the heavenly radiance
Which once clothed their form with grace,
Unclothed, naked, trembling, fearful,
Hide they from their Father's face.

I. John iii. 2.
Matt. xvii. 2.
Gen. iii. 8.
Rev. iii. 18.
Rev. iii. 5.
Rev. xix. 8.

26.

Vanish all the joys of Eden,
All the beauty of the bowers,
Where true souls and faithful lovers
Gather amaranthine flowers.

Gen. iii. 7.
Gen. iii. 24.

27.

That good land becomes a desert,
 There are thorns and thistles rife,
 Evil weeds and poisonous reptiles,
 Mistrust, envy, anger, strife.

Gen. iii. 17-18.

Matt. xiii. 38.
 James iii. 14.

28.

Bowed with unblest toil and sorrow,
 Dark and drear the path men tread,
 Sick at heart with frustrate labours,
 Pass they downward to the dead.

Gen. iii. 19.
 Rom. vi. 21.

29.

Adam the true man must perish,
 Though the lower life survives,
 He lives not for whom the Father
 Breathéd once the breath of lives.

Rev. iii. 1.
 I. Tim. v. 6.
 Eph. ii. 1.

30.

So henceforth with reverent spirit
 Pored I o'er the pictured scroll,
 Saw the sense-world now revealing
 Truths known only by the soul.

31.

Saw those forms of fourfold nature,
 Living creatures full of eyes,
 Dazzling man with sensuous glory,
 Shutting out God's Paradise.

Ezek. i. 5.
 Rev. iv. 6.
 Psalm lxxx. 1.
 Gen. iii. 24.

32.

Then I passed o'er many pictures,
 Scenes, alas! of sin and lust,
 Saw man living for the sense-life,
 Feeding, serpentlike, on dust.

Gen. iii. 14.
 Is. xlv. 20.

33.

Lo! that emblem of the earthborn,
 Standing bright against the sky,
 Glittering golden in its radiance,
 Glorious, lifted up on high.

Numb. xxi. 8.
 John iii. 14.
 John xii. 32.

34.

And around that brazen serpent
Pressed a fevered hectic crowd,
Wounded, poisoned, restless, fainting,
Low before that cross they bowed.

Col. ii. 15.

35.

Son of Man, eternal wisdom !
Thou alone canst truth reveal !
Unto Thee we bring these Scriptures,
Thou alone canst break the seal.

Matt. xv. 15.
Rev. v.

DOROTHEA BEALE.



MONTHLY STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ST. MARK.—(Continued.)

The First Miracle and its Enthusiastic Reception (i. 20-34.)

On the north west shore of Gennesaret, probably near the ruins of Tell Hum and some three miles south of the river which flows into the northern waters of the lake, lay the city of Capernaum, which was to serve as the headquarters of Jesus during His stay in Galilee. Like all other Jewish towns at this time, Capernaum had its synagogue, where prayer was offered up and Scripture read. The conduct of the service was placed in the hands of a leading member of the congregation, who was called the ruler of the synagogue, and among his duties was the choice each Sabbath of a suitable person to read a passage and to exhort the people.

At the time of our narrative Jesus would be recognised as a young man whose words were weighty, and whose life was blameless, and there is little wonder that the ruler asked Him on this particular Sabbath day to instruct the assembled worshippers. Our Lord readily acceded to the request and the impression which His sermon caused was a striking one. It is not surprising that a few more sermons delivered with so unusual authority, and giving rise to so distasteful comparisons, should bring to an end His free use of the synagogue. As He spake, it was not exactly the words which He said, but His method of saying them that filled His listeners with wonder and great astonishment. Sabbath by Sabbath they were accustomed to listen to a tedious round of injunctions, and were wearied with the extraction of minute and impossible meanings from the Law. Each command or suggestion was enforced by reference to a famous Rabbi, or to some recognised

external authority. But the words to which they listened now relied for their recognition upon their native truthfulness, and their intrinsic worth, alone. His authority was borrowed from no mortal man and the people marvelled as they heard Him speak. 'He taught them as having authority and not as the Scribes.'

It was these Scribes, whose dependent utterance was in such striking contrast to our Lord's simple and spiritually powerful speech, that were most bitterly opposed to this new disturbance of the existing state of things. It was with them that Jesus had His leading controversies. They were the authors of the tradition which He condemned, and round them they had gathered the Pharisees, whose purpose it was to maintain the observance of their traditional law. They had built up a binding system on their allegorized interpretation of Holy Writ, and the result was a galling bondage, and an artificial morality, which was radically opposed to the freedom and spiritual depth of the living way which it was Jesus' mission to preach.

The authority of the Lord's words was rendered more remarkable by His masterly treatment of the poor demoniac who had found his way into the synagogue. In unsteady utterance, and speaking now in his own name and now in the name of the spirits who held him in thrall, he asked what common ground there was between them and Jesus which should cause the latter to interfere in the disposition of their lot. His wandering words were sharply rebuked (*ἐπετίμησεν*) and the man was cured. The effect of this miracle was natural: astonishment gave place to wild excitement, which was only restrained till the Sabbath had reached its close. Our Lord departed with His disciples to St. Peter's house, and there he found Peter's wife's mother lying sick of a fever. The beneficent touch which made her well and strong, was laid that night on many another weary sufferer. For at sunset, when the Sabbath had passed, the crowds gathered from every quarter of the city, bringing their sick to be restored. There is

throughout this Gospel something peculiarly beautiful in the stories of this Galilean peasantry. They were simple folk, often intellectually and spiritually dull; they must be taught by parables; but they were capable of love, and were touched by a kindly deed or a gentle word.

This early miracle recalls the fact, that to modern minds there are undoubted difficulties in the way of a belief in the miraculous. But it is also true that the critical scrutiny, under which the Gospel narratives and the Pauline epistles have passed, has, if anything, made it more difficult than it formerly was to render any satisfactory explanation of their existence without a belief in the miraculous events which they relate. Those who reject the miraculous element are faced with three most formidable problems which reason demands that they shall solve. In the first place, in view of the acknowledged fact that so many of the narratives are the work of eyewitnesses, they must explain how writers of undoubted probity could have testified with such sobriety, such circumstantiality, and such simplicity, to events which never took place. Then they must account for the obvious and beautiful purpose which inseparably combines the miraculous features with the life and teaching of Jesus; His principles, His moderation, His beneficence, all shine through them; they contain nothing incongruous with His character. And finally, the economy which He is declared to have exercised must be reckoned with. Why is He never represented as displaying miracles as mere works of wonder, or using them to shield Himself? And why is He always portrayed as leading the people's minds away from thoughts of the miracle, which He feared might prevent them from learning the lessons He wished to teach?

Jesus avoids Publicity (i. 35-45).

The incidents of this Sabbath day at Capernaum had brought the Lord into great prominence before the people as a worker of miracles. But it was not thus that He would have them think of Him. His miracles were to relieve distress, not to compel belief. He was unwilling to overawe by outward signs: He rather wished to awaken the conscience, to kindle the moral sense, and win the heart. It was this wish which led Him later to enjoin secrecy upon those whom He had healed. In order that the ferment in Capernaum might subside, He sets forth on a mission tour through the hamlets and villages of the region round about.

In the early hours of the morning upon which their tour

began, before the sun had risen over the hills to the east of Galilee, our Lord withdrew alone to a solitary place and there poured out His soul in prayer. The burden of this prayer we are not told, but the occasion was significant; and if we read it in the light of the other crises when He prayed, we may discover the reason for His urgent utterance. From St. John we learn that He withdrew from His disciples and the multitude when the five thousand had been fed. He went to pray, for He knew that by force they wished to make Him King. St. Luke relates the healing of the leper and Jesus' quick retreat from the eager multitude. He went apart to pray. And in Gethsemane He prayed that He might do His Father's will.

If we consider the occasion of these prayers we shall find that they coincide most frequently with seasons of great popularity, and always with times when there lay before Him the choice of two roads: the right and difficult path, and the easy but fruitless way. To accept the people's popularity, and with it the people's estimate, was the smooth and tempting road, but it was not thus that our Lord could fulfil His Father's work. To purify the people's conception of His claims meant the passage through the valley of the shadow of death, but it would lead the sons of men into the eternal realms of peace. He prayed for strength that He might not swerve from His chosen and His appointed path.

There are many who would belittle our Lord's humanity; who imagine that temptation never was actual to Him; who would fain think that He always saw the end from the beginning, and who would make His earthly life unreal. But to do this is to take away our hope. If the Lord's humanity was not as real as ours; if He had not at times to walk by faith and not by sight; if He possessed that absolute and ever present knowledge of all earthly things and every future act, how could He suffer temptation at all points like as we? How could He succour those who are sorely tried? No, if He is to be a Saviour for us, His manhood as well as His Godhead must be real. The Incarnation must ever be a mystery. All we can do is to steadfastly maintain both sides of this great truth, and in the present case we cannot, nor would we wish to, close our eyes to the tokens of His humanity. He hungered and was athirst, He wept tears of human grief, His body was wearied and must rest beside the well, temptation could press on Him with bitter force, and His plans

could be frustrated when He bade His disciples come aside and rest. Are we to think that He foresaw this frustration or that He knew He could never yield when tried? The narratives forbid the thought, it would make His life unreal. In other places the Divinity is just as marked, and we fully believe, quite as real. Reason can accept the facts though it can never finally explain the union. The finite cannot grasp the counsels of the Infinite.

It was when fortified thus by prayer that our Lord met the eager disciples who urged Him to take advantage of His popularity. His calm reply shows His attitude to this request. He says He has come from Capernaum for a definite end. He wishes to preach in the towns that lie around, and the people's acclamations shall not call Him back.

On this missionary tour one miracle alone is recorded with detail by St. Mark. It was probably typical of the rest. It was a work of benevolence, and its announcement was straightly forbidden. The disobedience of the leper who was cured caused our Lord to do no more works of healing in those parts, for it gave rise again to the excitement that He so persistently sought to avoid. These Galilean folk were too simple to be taught by the signs which, as we learn from the fourth Gospel, the miracles wrought in Judæa were intended to convey to the people of wider religious training in the south. The spiritual significance of a miracle would be obscured from them, and the teaching which they required was of the simplest sort. The disobedience of the healed man hindered this more elementary but most essential work.

The command that the restored man should show himself to the priest, and make the usual offering, helps to throw light on our Lord's methods of leading men from lower to higher things. There are not wanting many in our day who imagine that reformation means entire severance from every former way. It was not so with our Lord, as His attitude to Jewish custom here declares. If the custom involved a false principle His opposition was clear and sharp. When the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath hindered the exercise of the higher law of love He condemned its absolute supremacy. But here no principle was involved; and where there is no new structure to erect, He forbears to destroy that which already stands.

CORRESPONDENCE.

OUR LORD'S BIRTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE INTERPRETER.'

Sir,—May I be allowed to add one more suggestion to the excellent ones with which "Student" supplements Mr. Allen's most valuable article on our Lord's Birth?

Is it not, on the naturalistic hypothesis, necessary, or at least expedient, to get rid of St. Luke i. 36, as well of the two preceding verses? As the words stand, they appear obviously intended to support Mary's faith by showing her (what she would be able to verify for herself) that something almost or quite miraculous was actually occurring to a relation of her own as regards the birth of a child. If the announcement of the Angel had merely been that Mary's son would be the Christ, the reference to Elisabeth's old age, and so on, would have no meaning; to substitute, or to add, some statement as to the work of Elisabeth's child as the forerunner of the Messiah (such as was made to Zacharias) would have been very much more to the point. I think most people, on reading the passage, will see this; and it makes little or no difference to the argument which reading and interpretation of verse 37 (*ὅτι οὐκ ἔδυνάμην, &c.*) is accepted. I need hardly draw attention once more to the improbability of theories which involve such extensive surgical operations on the text.

Yours faithfully,

A. C. CHAMPNEYS.

REVIEWS.

Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church.¹ By A. J. MASON, D.D. The study of the lives of the martyrs of the Primitive Church yields an abundance of inspiring thought, and has too long been confined to the scholarly reader whose time and inclination have led him to dig treasures out of the overwhelming mass of material. It is because the study is so full of noble inspiration that we think Canon Mason has done a real service in extracting the essence of these stories and presenting them, shorn of the academic

¹ *Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church.* By A. J. Mason, D.D. 10s. 6d. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.)

details which would dull their freshness, in an eminently readable volume. The form of persecution varies from age to age, but the constancy of the Christian martyr bespeaks with no uncertain voice the vitality of the Christian Faith. In the early days of Polycarp and Perpetua martyrdom was consequent on the very confession of Christianity, on the very recognition of Jesus as King; to-day it must often be endured in the details of life on account of loyalty to Christian principle. But while we warmly commend Dr. Mason's book, while we think that the light which it throws upon the struggles of Christianity in the early centuries must tend to make us value more worthily the Christian world in which it is our lot to live, we think that books like these are not wholly without their elements of danger. It is possible to take a morbid interest in a narrative of suffering, and by continually dwelling upon the sorrows of another age to grow blind to the misery of our own. But despite the warning remarks, the good which must accrue from the study of this new book of martyrs will outweigh the dangers which may lie in the path of those who thoughtlessly read its pages.

St. Paul the Master Builder.¹ By WALTER LOCK, D.D. It is no uncommon occurrence to hear the doctrine of St. Paul condemned in unmeasured terms by men whose knowledge of that doctrine is derived at second-hand from very inadequate sources. They imagine St. Paul to have taught what he would have been the very last to countenance. For instance, the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is by many imagined to mean, when expressed in plain English, that a man's deeds are secondary to his belief. In reality no such doctrine, in the common acceptance of the terms, can be laid to the charge of St. Paul. He, no less than our Lord, would say that a man would be finally judged by his conduct in life and not by a bare belief. Faith was the starting point on the road which led to final attainment, it assured the humble believer of a Father's forgiveness and a Father's love, and united him to the Risen Lord Whose power would make possible an actual righteousness. Dr. Lock possesses a fine power of making his meaning clear, and his knowledge of St. Paul's teaching is profound. A careful study of *St. Paul the Master Builder*, which is attractive alike in its matter and in the manner of its publication, will help to dispel many of the current unworthy ideas which cleave to the name of the great Apostle. The book considers three aspects of St. Paul's life: he is regarded as the Missionary, the Ecclesiastical Statesman, and the Ethical Teacher.

¹ *St. Paul the Master Builder*, being Lectures delivered to the Clergy in the Diocese of St. Asaph, by Walter Lock, D.D. 3s. 6d. (London: Methuen & Co.)

The Newly Found Words of Jesus¹: Discourses by W. GARRETT HORDER. If we cannot quite agree with all that Mr. Garrett Horder says in his little book, it will not debar us from recommending it as an interesting account of the 'New Sayings' which have been the subject of so much discussion, but about which so many are ignorant. Nothing but a deficient sense of the development of Christianity could make Mr. Garrett Horder declare as something to be proud of, that 'We are returning to the method of the first century, before creeds and confessions were framed, when the one cry was, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved,' or again 'We are building the Church on the primitive foundations—not on those of the third and fourth centuries—on man-made foundations.' There may be a partial truth in Mr. Horder's remarks, but it is a very partial truth, and if it is isolated from more important truths it has a dangerous tendency.

The Work of the Prophets.² By ROSE E. SELFE. This book is as dainty as it is useful. Its large type and fine illustrations will render it welcome to many besides the children and young people for whom it has been prepared. Miss Selfe writes in the main from the standpoint of the moderate critical school, but we are unable to discover that the new view point affects in any sense the reverence of her utterance, or the richness and the beauty of the lessons which she draws. The whole of this series of *Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge*, edited by Miss Florence Robinson, is modelled upon the same plan as the book before us now and is destined to perform a useful work.

George Morland³: painter, London. By RALPH RICHARDSON. To all admirers of Morland, and we have good reason to believe that the number of these has greatly increased during the last few years, this book will be welcome. It is a cheap re-issue of an earlier book, and now that Morland's admirers are not confined to a few enthusiasts, the publication is opportune. The book contains the life of the merry artist, and like the life of the poet Burns it is one which our author warns us must not be viewed through the cold spectacles of the nineteenth century. Money quickly came and as quickly went; he was careless of the future, and debt and disgrace marred his life. But he was a great painter and belonged

¹ *The Newly Found Words of Jesus*: Discourses by W. Garrett Horder. 1s. 6d. (London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co.)

² *The Work of the Prophets*, with eight illustrations and two maps. By Rose E. Selfe. 2/6. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.)

³ *George Morland*: painter, London. By Ralph Richardson, F.R.S.E., F.S.A., Scot. (London: Elliot Stock).

to an age of great painters. The book is rendered more valuable by lists and catalogues, one of which gives us a long account of the prices which his paintings realized at Christie's during certain years, and another enumerates his prints in the British Museum.

Lay Hold on Eternal Life: What We may learn for a Penny: a series of addresses given to children. By the Rev. C. R. Davey Biggs, D.D. London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co. Dr. Biggs is well known for his power of conducting a children's mission or a children's service, and as we read these short and attractive addresses we feel how thoroughly he sympathises with understands the child mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED.¹

The Grace of Sacraments: being Treatises on Baptism and the Eucharist. By ALEXANDER KNOX. Edited with Preface by the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. 5s. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Church Work. By BARNARD REYNOLDS, M.A. 5s. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Words of a Believer. By FÉLICITÉ DE LAMENNAIS. 6d. London: S. C. Brown Langham & Co.

Some Thoughts on the Incarnation. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 6d. Cloth edition 1s. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Christian and Catholic. By the Rt. Rev. CHARLES C. GRAFTON, Bishop of Fond du Lac. 6s. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Ministers of the Word and Sacraments: Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By S. M. TAYLOR, M.A., Archdeacon of Southwark. 250 pp. 4s. 6d. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

The Coming of the Friars, and other Historical Essays. By the Rev. AUGUSTUS JESSOP, D.D. 344 pp. 3s. 6d. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

In Watchings Often: Addresses to Nurses and Others. By the Rev. E. E. HOLMES, Vicar of Sonning, Berks; with Preface by the BISHOP OF LINCOLN. 242 pp. 2s. 6d. Cloth edition, 3s. 6d. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Moral Discipline in the Christian Church. By Canon H. HENSLEY HENSON, B.D. 266 pp. 5s. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

A Layman's Life in the Days of the Tractarian Movement: In Memoriam Arthur Acland Troyte. By JOHN E. ACLAND, M.A. 4s. London: James Parker & Co.

Peterborough Sermons. By the late BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. 391 pp. 6s. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

¹ Mention of books under this heading does not preclude a subsequent review.

The Interpreter.

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Among others the following have consented to contribute :—

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THE
INTERPRETER

... A CHURCH ...
MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1903.

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The Interpreter.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESS NOTICES

OF

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"Altogether 'The Interpreter' has made a good beginning. This multiplication of critical journals of theology is a wholesome sign of our time, especially when, as in this case, they have an avowedly constructive aim."

Liverpool Courier.

"Liberal Church Theology is a thing to be reckoned with, and for those who wish to keep abreast with it, the new magazine 'The Interpreter' will be found useful and valuable."

Aberdeen Free Press.

"The magazine makes an interesting and promising start."

Bristol Mercury.

"The first number is a strong one, an article on 'Assyriology and Inspiration' well repaying perusal."

Alma Mater (ABERDEEN).

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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things ?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. I.

MAY, 1905.

No. 5.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

To Our Readers.

It gives us pleasure to take this opportunity of thanking our readers for the warm support which they have accorded to 'The Interpreter' during the first few months of its existence. It is peculiarly encouraging to notice that, as the Magazine is becoming more widely known, it is commanding an increasing circulation. Not in England alone but in many distant corners of the earth our readers may be found. But it has come to our knowledge from many sources that there are still a large number of those who would probably be pleased with 'The Interpreter,' but who are still ignorant of its existence. A great step would be made towards overcoming this difficulty if all our present readers would reinforce our efforts by bringing the Magazine before the notice of their friends. We also hear that some have difficulty in procuring 'The Interpreter,' and we should like to point out that if they fail to get it through their local bookseller, they can order it from Messrs. W. H. Smith & Sons' Railway Bookstalls, or direct, by post, from the Publishers.

In conclusion, we would urge upon our readers to be quite frank in their criticisms and suggestions; we have valued the letters which we have already received, and where it has seemed expedient we made use of the suggestions they contained.

The Rubbish Heaps of Egypt.

In a most able and interesting lecture delivered at the Rylands Library, in Manchester, on April 11th, Professor Moulton unfolded some of the results of his study in connection with the documents found by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus. To most people the papyri containing 'The New Sayings of Jesus' are the only part of that discovery which they find of interest, but the indirect light which the other miscellaneous fragments throw upon the character of the New Testament Greek, and upon the meaning of obscure words, and the allusion to strange customs, is not without corresponding importance.

It is curious to find expressions familiar to Christian ears used in an absolutely pagan connection. Who cannot but be struck, for instance, with the termination of a pre-Christian letter, where the writer sends his salutation to all in the reader's house, and assures them that day and night he made entreaty to God on their behalf. St. Paul and St. John did but waken into a new life, and fill with an intense meaning, phrases which had been in common use before.

One of the most interesting fragments is a petulently sarcastic letter from a schoolboy to his father, who had not invited his spoilt son to share a projected visit to Alexandria. In it the aggravated and distracted mother is represented by her boy as exclaiming, 'He quite upsets me, off with him.' The earlier half of the sentence reproduces the same Greek word that we have in Acts xvii. 6, 'These that have turned the world upside down,' while the latter half recalls the phrase so sadly familiar in connection with our Lord, and with St. Paul, 'Away with him,' John xix. 15, Acts xxi. 36. Dr. Moulton, whose lecture was not written out, has kindly promised to

supply us, at a later date, with some further particulars of his research.

Egyptian Foundation Deposits.

In England, and throughout many of her colonies, a useful custom is observed in connection with the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of public buildings, when a coin of the realm and a current edition of a newspaper are buried as a record of the event. But this practice is by no means a modern one, and to its observance in Egypt and Babylon we owe much useful information respecting the history of those peoples and the modes of thought which influenced them.

In Egypt the practice was perhaps due to a different motive, at any rate in its general features, from that which we discover in Babylon. Thus, while the Babylonian sovereign buried his Tablet to record his works and perpetuate his prowess, the Egyptian was moved by religious impulses and in his act he saw a magical efficacy.

Memorial tablets in Egypt are quite common, and although they are mainly found beneath buildings of the Ptolemaic and Saite periods, they may be traced even to the Fifth Dynasty (about 3721 B.C. to 3503 B.C.).

The objects deposited are for the most part libation vases, corn grinders, knives, and models of sacrificial animals, all of which had a ceremonial use and were essential to the due performance of a religious service. This conclusion is rendered more secure by the occasional discovery of the skulls and teeth of oxen, or the charred bones of small birds. But these relics of religious rites are not the only objects found; fragments of building materials, gold, silver, iron, and small models of bricks lie scattered by their side.

Professor Petrie thinks that these deposits of vessels and knives are the cheap copies of more valuable implements which were used at the original ceremony, and which, as forfeit to the gods, must never be used again unless they were redeemed by substitutes. This explanation, however, renders no account of

the presence of the building materials, and Mr. King, of the British Museum, in his recent book on *The Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I.*, proposes a more satisfactory solution. Taking into consideration the fact that in its earliest form the Egyptian Temple was a Mortuary Chapel attached to the tomb of the deceased, he reasons that, in their original idea, these deposits were intended to minister to the necessities of the departed man in any building operations which he might undertake in the future life. He must have materials to erect his house or temple, he must have animals to sacrifice when he came to consecrate his completed work, and he must have the various vessels and implements to carry out the sacred rite.

Babylonian and Assyrian Memorial Deposits.

In the book to which we have just referred, Mr. King gives a lengthy account of a memorial tablet which has been recovered from beneath the walls of an early Babylonian town, and which is of more direct value to the historian than the similar deposits with which we are familiar in Egypt. This greater value is due to the different intention of the deposits. While it would be unwarrantable to assume that the burial of the Babylonian tablet was quite independent of any religious idea, such idea certainly was not the sole, and most probably not the chief feature, and the very large element of personal vanity which led the boastful kings to record the glory of their conquests, and the splendour of their buildings, have furnished the historian with most valuable material to reconstruct the story of their reigns.

For a knowledge of the rise and pre-eminence of the Northern Kingdom of Assyria over the land of Babylon until the twelfth century B.C., our materials of an early date are extremely small. In two late documents, *The Synchronous History*, and a tablet inscribed with a section of *The Babylonian Chronicle*, we get a portion of what had once been a complete summary of the relations of Assyria and Babylon. The inscriptions of later kings, especially of Tiglath-Pileser I. and

Sennacherib, yield us information concerning the warlike and peaceful activities of the early Assyrian kings. But of earlier evidence which carries us nearer the events they record, we only possess a disappointingly small collection of brick inscriptions and votive texts upon clay bowls, and these are chiefly concerned with the restoration of temples. In view of this paucity of direct material for tracing the rise of Assyria we place the higher value on two tablets which have been discovered. The first is a memorial tablet of King Adad-nirari I. (about 1325 B.C.), which Mr. George Smith acquired for the British Museum in 1875. This limestone memorial tablet, which was found at Mosul, a town of Mesopotamia on the banks of the Tigris, bears an inscription of 80 lines in archaic Assyrian characters, and commemorates the restoration of a part of the Temple of the God Ashur in the city of Ashur. After the manner of those days King Adad-nirari records the names of the people conquered by himself, by his father, his grandfather, and even by his great-grandfather. We thus learn the names of a whole line of kings and the peoples they overcame, and have access to a valuable account of the extension of the Assyrian empire during the fourteenth century B.C.¹

The Memorial Tablet of Tukulti-Ninib I.

In 1904, for the first time, the text of another important tablet, which now lies at the British Museum, was published by Mr. King, and it throws a welcome light upon the early period of Assyrian aggression. The tablet in question was buried as a memorial by King Tukulti-Ninib I. under the wall of the city Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, which lay near the banks of the Tigris, and between Kuyunik and Kala Sherkât. Tukulti-Ninib I., who was King of Assyria about 1275 B.C., conquered Babylonia and deported its king to Assyria. The slab which he caused to be engraved and buried beneath the city wall commemorates the

¹ An account of this tablet may be found in the *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, by Messrs. Budge and King.

accomplishment of works of great magnitude. A new city had been founded, and eight temples built for its worshippers; a palace was designed for the royal residence, and a canal brought the needful water for its citizens. To protect the town from hostile attack it was encircled by a great wall, whose completion was signalized by the burial of the tablet which we now possess.

It is fortunate that the Assyrian Kings were proud of enumerating their conquests, and in this particular instance the boastful details are of peculiar value. Tukulti-Ninib relates at length how he gradually overcame the peoples to the North and East of Assyria, and ends with a description of the capture of Babylon, and the complete subjugation of Sumer and Akkad. His victorious march took place just 600 years before Sennacherib, in a similar fashion, compelled the great city to surrender to his demands. The limestone tablet, which is inscribed on both sides, is quite small; it only measures some 16 in. in length, while its breadth is 12 in. and its thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Although in the main the engraver has done his work well, he has permitted a few mistakes to pass without correction, and frequently had cause to erase words when he had gone astray. Where the erasure and re-inscription has taken place the surface presents a somewhat blurred appearance.

The tablet closes with a prayer to future rulers to repair the wall and to honour this record of its erection; it invokes a blessing on those who respect its plea, and utters a terrible curse upon the man who despises it.

Since writing the above, a rather curious modification of the usual custom of depositing records has arisen in connection with the repairs which are being carried out at Wakefield Cathedral. The paragraph below, which gives the particulars of this deposit, we owe to the *Manchester Guardian* of April 17th.

About 10 ft. of the spire of Wakefield Cathedral has to be rebuilt, one of the stones having been found to be cracked. The work is now in progress, and in connection with it an interesting 'find' has been made. In the vane of the weathercock was a

receptacle of hammered copper, the ends of which were sealed, containing ancient records as to the spire. From these it appears that the spire was partly rebuilt and repaired in 1715, the tower and spire were repaired in 1803, the upper part of the spire was rebuilt in 1823 (when it was raised to its original height, having been diminished in 1715), and the tower and spire were again restored in 1861. These records have been supplemented by a statement with reference to the repairs that are now being made, and the box will once more be placed in its original repository.

The Health of Children in Elementary Schools.

The Dundee Social Union has instituted an inquiry into the Physical Condition of Elementary School Children, and has published the report of its investigations in a document of first-rate importance. Their action serves as an example which might, with advantage, be widely followed by those who have a similar opportunity in other towns throughout the country. Dr. Leslie Mackenzie, aided by other experts, made an examination of 1,000 children from the elementary schools, and conducted it with as great care as the circumstances would permit. To prevent opposition, each child was only subjected to a partial examination, and consequently the amount of disease, though sufficiently startling, was under-estimated.

In one school 17 cases of disease were found to exist among 18 infants; in another 91 cases among 99 boys; and in another 107 cases among 108 children. Often the affection was small, and perhaps temporary, but in nearly all cases it required attention; and the sad feature is that, while in the majority of cases the ailment is remediable, yet through ignorance, or carelessness, or poverty, the remedy is not applied, and the disease accumulates. Suffering from defective eyesight and hearing, from colds, sore throats, St. Vitus's dance, and heart and lung diseases, the children are permitted to attend their schools with their deficiencies unregarded and unalleviated. The evil, which at first might yield to treatment, becomes permanent, and the infectious disease, which could be stayed by isolation, is spread by contact.

While we do not believe that the matter is so serious in every town as it appears to be in Dundee, we think that it behoves those in authority in every district, to make the state of affairs, for which they will be held responsible, a matter for careful inquiry. The subject may be more closely studied in *The Dundee Social Union Report of the Investigation into the Social Conditions of Dundee*.¹

The International Society of the Apocrypha.

The Bishop of Winchester has become the President of the newly-formed International Society of the Apocrypha, the object of which is to make more widely known the spiritual, ecclesiastical, and literary value of 'the Books which the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners,' and to promote their more general study among the clergy and laity.

The Society issues to its members a Quarterly Paper entitled *Deutero-Canonica*, which contains a scheme of study, a list of recommended books, and varied notes bearing on the Apocrypha. The Council of the Society is composed of well known English and foreign writers on the Ecclesiastical Books; and its Warden is the Rev. Herbert Pentin, Vicar of Milton Abbey, Dorset.

¹ This may be purchased from John Leng & Co., 186, Fleet Street, London. Price 1s.

THE VISION OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.¹

Apoc. xxi. 9—xxii. 5.

This is the last of the series of visions which forms the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse begins with a vision of the glorified Christ, it ends with a vision of the glorified Church.

In ch. i. the glorified Lord walks in the midst of the Seven Churches of Asia, inspecting, reproving, approving, as their several needs required. In ch. xxi. the Church is one, and she is 'glorious, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing.' From the many churches, the Christian societies which St. John had lived to see growing up in all parts of the Empire, each represented by its own Angel, *i.e.*, each possessing its own special characteristics, its own local peculiarities, its own *ἰδέα* and spirit, his thoughts are turned by the Spirit of Revelation to the ideal Unity, the heavenly Church, which corresponds to the glory of the Ascended Christ, and is worthy of Him whose bride she is called to be. To realise the ideal is not less important than to be in touch with the actual, and St. John, who began his book by depicting things as they were, ends it with a magnificent attempt to set forth, in the language of symbol, things as they ought to be and shall be when that which is perfect is come.

xxi. 9.—'And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven 'bowls, who were full of the seven last plagues, and he spake with me, 'saying, Hither, I will shew thee the Bride, the wife of the Lamb.'

One of the same group of angels had in the same form of words invited St. John to see the harlot city, Babylon the Great (xvii. 1). Thus the two cities stand in marked contrast, the Harlot and the Bride; Babylon and Jerusalem; Rome as the centre of the world-power and the Ideal Church. On the one hand there appears the splendid, venal, wicked capital of the empire, the city which has prostituted her wealth and power to

¹ This paper was read to members of the Central Society of Sacred Study at Weston-super-Mare on January 5th, 1905, and at Westcott House, Cambridge, on March 27th.

purely selfish aims, has persecuted the saints and drunk the blood of martyrs, doomed to destruction and oblivion ; on the other hand, the Wife of the Lamb, the pure Bride of Christ, bright with the light of God, immensely greater, richer, more permanent than the city of the Cæsars, the mistress of the world.

10.—‘ And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and shewed me the Holy City, Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.’

To see the Harlot City the Seer had been carried into a wilderness (xvii. 3) ; to see the Bride City he must be carried up to a mountain, and a mountain of no ordinary height. It is not Mount Sion which is intended, or any mountain in particular ; the indefinite anarthrous *ὄρος* points to a symbolical elevation, the elevation of mind and heart which those must reach who would see the heavenly vision. The thought comes, like so much else in this part of the Apocalypse, from Ezekiel’s vision of a restored Jerusalem ; ‘ in the visions of God brought He me into the land of Israel, and set me down upon a very high mountain, whereon was as it were the frame of a city (xl. 2).’ Only, St. John’s Holy City is not built on the mountain where he stands, but is visible from it ; from the mountain he sees what he could not have seen from the plain, the New Jerusalem, descending out of heaven. The Angel’s ‘ Hither, I will shew thee’ is a *sursum corda* for the Seer and for his readers ; as we respond to it, as our hearts rise, we see the invisible ; the descending City takes form and shape before our eyes.

What is this ‘ descent from heaven ’ which St. John attributes to the Church ? We are tempted to compare it with St. Paul’s vision of the Parousia : ‘ The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven . . . and the dead in Christ shall rise first ; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air.’ But as St. John’s vision proceeds, we shall see that it is not altogether an anticipation of the future, but rather an idealising of that which is present, although, without doubt, the future

will exhibit the ideal realised as we cannot see it now. Therefore, though I do not question that St. Paul's conception of the Saints visibly coming with Christ in His glory may find its fulfilment under conditions which we do not now comprehend; yet in interpreting the present passage I would think chiefly of a descent out of heaven which is always occurring in the present life of the Church. The Church is in her origin, her ideal, her spiritual life, a heavenly city, an *οὐρανόπολις*, as St. Paul and his school had already grasped: 'The Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother (Gal. iv. 25); 'our citizenship is in heaven' (Phil. iii. 20); 'ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the City of Living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem' (Heb. xii. 22). Behind and above the earthly societies, the congregations of Christ's flock in the world, both St. Paul and St. John see a heavenly society, their celestial counterpart, which reveals itself in each of the earthly societies so far as they are true to Christ and to their heavenly calling. In other words, the Church, the *ἐκκλησία* in its truest sense, belongs to the unseen order which is behind the veil; she reaches back into the invisible and the eternal, is from God and with Christ, and exists in that heavenly sphere, those *ἐπουράνια*, where Christ is, and where God has made us sit with the ascended Christ (Eph. ii. 6). But out of this heavenly sphere, this unseen existence, the ideal Church is seen by St. John as ever descending, coming down to this earth, making herself visible, realising herself, here a little and there a little, in the life and work of her children on earth. That this descent will find its consummation at the Coming of the Lord, and on the new earth after His Coming, is not doubtful; but the point of St. John's vision is that it has begun already. *Ἔδειξέν μοι τὴν πόλιν . . . καταβαίνουσαν*; the hierophant angel shewed him and shews us the descent in progress, the heavenly on its way to realisation in our human life, the suprasensual translating itself into the terms of sense.

St. John proceeds to describe the Holy City as it passed before him. No one can fail to be struck by the disjointed and

irregular Greek of this description: ἔχουσαν . . . ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς . . . ἔχουσα . . . πυλῶνες . . . τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἔχων, form a series of solecisms which defy the grammarian and leave him aghast at the writer's audacity. Ignorance it cannot be, as the perfectly correct sentences which precede and follow quite clearly demonstrate. The truth is that the Seer writes here after the manner of one who is taking rapid notes of what he sees, afraid lest anything should escape him, and careless as to the laws of sequence. Whether these are actual notes, jotted down at the moment when the vision was upon him, and left uncorrected, or whether St. John, writing afterwards, purposely simulated in this passage the manner of the shorthand writer, cannot be determined; in either case the effect is the same; the halting style arrests attention, and invites the reader to stand by the Seer's side, and note for himself each detail as it is pointed out by the angelic guide.

11.—[He shewed me the City] having the glory of God; her 'luminary like a stone most precious, as it were a jasper stone, sparkling 'as rock-crystal.'

The City in her descent does not lose the glory of her celestial origin. Coming down from God, she is not parted from God, but brings with her His Presence. It is her great possession; she 'has' it, and wherever she is, it is in her midst. 'The glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.' So the Second Isaiah painted the future of the earthly Zion. The New Testament prophet finds this prediction realised in the New Jerusalem; she stands in the full light of the eternal day, the knowledge of the glory of God—*i.e.*, the splendour of His perfections, revealed in the Face of Jesus Christ. But what is her 'luminary'? Φωστὴρ must not be confused with φῶς, the luminary with the light. The earliest Greek commentator on the Apocalypse says: Φωστὴρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ χριστός, 'Christ is the luminary of the Church.' But he overlooks a distinction which Scripture habitually draws, and which appears on the first page of the Greek Bible, where we read: 'God said, let there be light—γενηθῆτω φῶς—and God made the two great lights—ἐποίησεν

ὁ θεός, τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους. Φῶς and φωστήρ are not less clearly distinguished in the New Testament; if our Lord condescends to put upon His disciples His own title τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, the disciples claim only to be φωστῆρες: 'Ye appear,' St. Paul writes to the Philippians, 'as luminaries in the world—ὡς φωστῆρες, not ὡς φῶτα. And when St. John speaks of the luminary of the City of God, he does not use φωστήρ for φῶς, but in its proper sense; he refers to the reflected light which the Christian Society, regarded as a whole, throws upon the rest of mankind. The Christian Society is a vast crystal, flashing back from its million facets the light of the glory of God. The world is illuminated by the knowledge of God revealed in her teaching and her life; the light she sheds penetrates every corner of the earth. We have but to reflect what modern life would be if it had carried on the tradition of the ancient civilisations, or had formed new traditions without the check which the presence of the Church exercises upon the passions of men, without the inspiration of Christian influences and of the Christian faith. For nineteen centuries the flash-light of the Divine City has searched the darkness of the world, and because of it the modern world is ashamed of things which were openly said and done in the pagan cities of Asia when St. John was alive. Christ in the Church is to-day 'a light for the unveiling of the nations' as well as 'the glory of His people Israel'—the Israel of God.

The description proceeds:

12 ff.—'She has a wall great and high; she has twelve gateways, and 'at the gateways twelve angels, and names inscribed which are those of 'the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel; counting from the East three 'gateways, and from the North three gateways, and from the South three 'gateways, and from the West three gateways. And the wall of the City 'has twelve foundation stones, and on them twelve names—those of the 'Twelve Apostles of the Lamb.'

An ancient city of great size and wealth must needs be encircled by 'a wall great and high.' The Holy City is no exception to this rule, though her wall cannot be for defence,

since the ideal Church has no enemies, and if she had enemies would have no occasion to fear them; the New Jerusalem can never know what the old city had so recently experienced, the horrors of a prolonged siege, or the carnage and devastation of ultimate capture. But an external wall, if not needed for protection, may serve for delimitation, giving compactness and visible unity to a great city; and it is here, I think, that we must seek the interpretation of the symbol in St. John's vision. The wall of the City of God is the visible order and discipline of the Church, which depend upon the right administration of the Sacraments, and the maintenance of the sacred Ministry. The wall looks towards each of the four points of the compass, for the Christian Society was from the first an *ἐκκλησία καθολική*, spreading itself on all hands, and gathering converts from all the quarters of the earth. Its twelve gateways—*πυλῶνες* and not simply *πύλαι*—gate-towers such as may be seen to-day in the Saracenic walls of the present Jerusalem—three on each side, invite all comers to enter. Like the gates of Ezekiel's city they bear the names of the Twelve Tribes, for the Church is the Israel of God, the true successor of the rights and powers of the ancient people; the writer of the Apocalypse loses no opportunity of asserting the continuity of the Church of the New Testament with the Church of the Old Testament. The foursquare order of the New Jerusalem looks back not only to Ezekiel's vision, but far beyond it, to the ordered march of the Tribes described in the opening chapters of Numbers; that old history of the march through the desert finds its fulfilment at last in the permanent organisation of the Christian Church, where all racial types, all sorts and conditions of men, are allotted their several places in the One Body of Christ, without loss of individuality on the one side or of unity on the other.

But other twelve names appear on the city wall, besides the names of the ancient Tribes. Between each pair of gateways there stands a foundation stone, and each foundation stone bears the name of an Apostle. The Twelve Apostles

are associated by Christ Himself with the Twelve Tribes: 'in the regeneration (He says) ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' And now St. John sees the great *παλιγγενεσία* realised in the new heaven, the new earth, the New Jerusalem, the world regenerated by the Spirit of Christ, and side by side with the names of the Tribes are those of the Apostles—a Tribe and then an Apostle, and so on all round the wall of the City. The names of the Apostles are on the foundation-stones, the *θεμέλιοι λίθοι*—not on the ultimate foundation, the rock itself, but on the great oblong wrought and bevelled stones which have been laid next the rock, and which shew above the surface; one is reminded of the monster stones of Herodian masonry which may still be seen in the Haram wall at Jerusalem. The inscribed stones represent the Twelve original Apostles of the Lamb, the first teachers and guides of the Church, on whom the rest of the Divine building has been built up tier after tier. St. Paul has in part the same thought when he writes to the Ephesians (ii. 20): '[Ye are] being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the Corner Stone.' But St. John's presentation of the Pauline metaphor has, as usual, features of its own; he makes no mention of the New Testament order of 'Prophets,' for his present purpose requires him to limit the foundation stones to twelve; he says nothing about the Corner Stone, for in this context Christ is the Bridegroom; and he makes the Apostles the foundation stones not of the whole City, but only of the outer wall. If we understand by the outer wall the organisation of the Catholic Church, the fitness of the symbolism he employs is obvious; he means what the Creed means when it describes the Church as Apostolic; the whole order of the Church rests ultimately on the teaching and initiation of the Twelve. That the Church is what she is, that we have a definite body of Christian teaching, the Sacraments of the Gospel, a succession of men duly authorised to administer the doctrine and discipline of Christ, is in the last instance due to the mission and work of the

Twelve. Not that our present Church order can be attributed to them in its existing form, but that by Christ's authority they set in motion that whole course of things which has issued in what we see. On the foundation stones of the great wall which limits the City of God we can still make out the names of the men whom Christ sent into the world, and the Church preserves her symmetry and rises to her ideal just in so far as she continues steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.

In passing let me point out that all questions as to the exact composition of the Apostolate, as it presented itself to St. John's mind in connexion with this vision, are irrelevant and, indeed, puerile. Renan, who thought that the Apocalypse was a counterblast to the teaching of St. Paul, points triumphantly to the exclusion of St. Paul from the number of the foundation stones of the Church as a deliberate insult to the memory of the Apostle of the Gentiles. It has been replied that the place of the traitor Judas is doubtless intended to be filled by St. Paul and not by St. Matthias, and therefore, according to St. John's calculation, St. Paul is one of the Twelve. But the defence is as groundless as the attack. St. John mentions no names; the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb are simply the original Apostolate, however composed. The lapse of Judas, the choice of Matthias, the conversion and mission of Saul, fall alike outside his line of thought. Christ chose twelve men to be the first preachers of the Gospel and founders of the Church; it is that fact and that only which is before his mind when he sees twelve foundation stones in the wall of the New Jerusalem, and twelve names inscribed upon them.

The Seer goes on :

15.—'And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed, 'to measure the City and its gateways and its wall. And the City lies 'foursquare, and its length was as great as its breadth. And he measured 'the City with the reed at twelve thousand stades; the length and the 'breadth and the height of it are equal. And he measured its wall at one 'hundred and forty-four cubits—man's measure which is angel's.'

In ch. xi. the measure of the Temple is taken by the Seer himself with an ordinary reed. The ideal City can be measured

only by an angel, and his measuring rod is of celestial gold; yet the Seer notes that the scale of measurement is identical with that which is ordinarily used among men; we may take the figures as denoting just what they would denote if the whole transaction were human and not angelic; it is man's measure, though taken by an angel.

Yet when we work out the measurements they are startling in the extreme. Both breadth and length and height reach 12,000 stades, or, reckoning the stade at $606\frac{3}{4}$ feet, close upon 1,380 English miles. The Rabbinical writers dreamed of a restored Jerusalem which should reach to Joppa or even to Damascus, and whose height should rise to twelve miles; but what are these dimensions compared with those of St. John's City?

The difficulty grows when we contrast the measurements of the external wall with those of the City. We expect the wall to be proportionately high, but the disproportion is extraordinary. The wall is only 144 cubits high—for height is probably meant and not breadth. But since the cubit is a foot and a half, this gives a height of but 216 feet, an insignificant fraction of the height of the City, which exceeds seven million feet. Indeed the height of the City and the height of the City wall have only this in common, that they are both multiples of twelve, the one 12,000 stades, the other 12×12 cubits. The number of the Tribes, the number of the Apostles, dominates both alike.

These may seem to be trivialities, but they are not, for they belong to the symbolical teaching of the passage. The outer wall, as we have seen, is not for defence, but to secure symmetry and to mark the city bounds; and it probably denotes the outward form and organisation of the Apostolic Church. But these, though important in their own place, and far more in evidence than the spiritual life of the Church, are yet immensely inferior to the latter in the sight of God and His Angels, and to the illuminated eyes of the Seer. The wall therefore bears, in regard to its elevation, but a very small

proportion to the City. The ideal City cannot abandon external order, but external order sinks into insignificance when it is compared with spiritual reality.

As for the dimensions of the City, they defy not only the painter's art, but the powers of human imagination. We are in the presence of a pure symbolism, and we must judge it accordingly. The *length* of the City may represent the expansion, its *breadth* the comprehensiveness, and its *height* the elevation of spirit and of life, which characterise the Church in her ideal completeness. But it is perhaps precarious to press the dimensions separately; as in Eph. iii. 18, where St. Paul speaks of 'the breadth and length and height and depth' of the Divine Love, so here it is enough that we take the three dimensions in their combination as expressing immensity. The City of God, as He sees her now, and as we may hope to see her in a future life, is greater, broader, higher, than we can know or think. Perhaps that is all that we can gather with any confidence; but is it not enough?

One point, however, there is on which our thoughts may fasten. 'The City lies four-square': it is a tetragon. Further, its three dimensions are equal; it is a perfect cube, as high as it is broad and long. This apocalyptic geometry is surely not without its meaning, and it is a meaning which can be read with an approach to certainty. The square was anciently the symbol of perfection. In the legislation of Exodus both the altar of burnt offering and the altar of incense are squares; square also is the Highpriest's breastplate. The same feature appears repeatedly in Ezekiel's vision of a restored City and Temple. The 'square man'—ὁ τετράγωνος ἀνὴρ—was in Greek thought the man of whom no evil could be said = ὁ ἀνευ ψόγου. Even in our colloquial English we talk of 'doing the square thing,' *i.e.*, the thing which is just and fair and right. All these associations may be transferred to the City of God; its squareness is its perfection 'in righteousness and holiness of truth.' But why is it represented as a perfect *cube*? The cube, says the earliest of Greek commentators on the Apocalypse,

represents firmness ; and the early Latin commentator Primasius adds that it answers to the ‘*soliditas veritatis invictæ*’—the massive strength of the unconquerable Truth which the Church possesses. But the Old Testament, on which the imagery of the Apocalypse is usually based, supplies another and even better explanation. The Holy of Holies in Solomon’s temple was a perfect cube, 20 cubits every way (I. Kings vi. 20). But the Holy City is the Holy of Holies of the future, the eternal abode of God among men. This thought will come before us more directly when we reach *v.* 22 ; for the present it is enough to note the explanation which it seems to offer of a remarkable feature in St. John’s vision of the New Jerusalem.

(To be continued.)

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.

I venture to set down briefly the substance of what I have said on several occasions during the past year on the subject of Sunday Observance.

The Christian obligation of keeping Sunday does not, of course, rest upon the *letter* of the Fourth Commandment. So far from this being the case, early Christian teachers insisted that the observance of the 'Sabbath' was to be avoided, as a mere Judaizing re-action. 'No longer keep Sabbath,' writes Ignatius to the Magnesians, 'but live in accordance with the spirit of the Lord's Day.' 'Refrain,' says Cyril of Jerusalem to his Catechumens, 'from all observance of Sabbaths.'¹ The observance of the Christian Sunday rests upon a different basis and appeals to a different motive. Our Lord's Resurrection upon the first day of the week marked it out as a day of renewal and consecration, restoring to it a heavenly character and use. Christ rose on a *working* day, as if to teach us that man's destiny is fulfilled through active use of his faculties, and that the 'life of the world to come' consists in the heightening of all energies, bodily and spiritual. Incidentally, indeed, our Lord corrected what was mistaken or partial in the Jewish conception of the Sabbath as the day on which 'God rested from all His work,' partly by teaching that the Sabbath was made *for man*, partly by reminding men of the truth implied in the words 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work,' partly also by the very fact that He used the Sabbath as an occasion for doing deeds of mercy and compassion.

For Christians, the Fourth Commandment contains three essential principles of true spiritual life. It lays down the three-fold law of work, of consecration, of recreation or 'rest.'

1. Work. Observe that the Commandment re-enacts the law of *work*: 'Six days shalt thou labour.' Our Lord sanctions

¹ Ignat. *ad Magnes.* ix.; Cyr. Hier. *Catech.* iv. *illum.* 37.

and accepts this law as an element in man's highest life. He rose, as we have noticed, on a working day; He says expressly 'We must work the works of Him that sent Me, while it is day.'¹ Hard toil is part of man's appointed discipline, and hitherto, on the whole, our Anglo-Saxon race has been conspicuous in its submission to the law of work. Emerson, writing in 1847, speaks of the English as 'a nation of labourers.' 'I suppose,' he adds, 'no people have such thoroughness; from highest to lowest every man meaning to be master of his craft.' Indeed, 'intemperate labour' has been regarded as a besetting sin of the Anglo-Saxon race, and, as we know, legislation has for some sixty or seventy years been largely directed towards the *restriction* of labour in the case of women, children, and other defenceless persons.

Perhaps this criticism could not be truthfully repeated now. There are signs that our national contempt for education has led to a certain want of thoroughness, a certain tendency to be content with superficial work.² I fear that as wealth and luxury increase, an increasing number of people do their best to evade the law of work, and a 'gentleman' is vulgarly supposed to be a person who 'has nothing to do,' or who 'hasn't to work for his living.' To very many the pursuit of pleasure in some form or other has become a serious business. The terrible growth of the gambling spirit really means that numbers of men and women in all ranks of society are anxious to become rich quickly, and to do so in defiance of God's law of work.

It is ill for us if we shirk, from any motive, the law of labour, if we decline to share the common lot of man. It is still worse if others are made to labour on Sunday in order to minister to our selfish pleasure. With the increased pursuit of pleasure there has come a great increase of Sunday trading and of other forms of labour, especially for servants. The immense amount of Sunday entertaining that goes on in London and in country houses, makes 'the day of rest' for many servants the

¹ John ix. 4.

² Cp. Bishop Knox, *Pastors and Teachers*, p. 61.

most toilsome day of the week.' We need, then, to consider our relation to the law of work; to see to it that our *time* is conscientiously and fruitfully employed in the service of God and our fellow men. And we should remember that the duty of work is specially 'incumbent on men of means'; that 'a gentleman hath more talents committed to him than an artisan, and consequently more employment required of him.'¹ We need to be strict with ourselves and to aim at a high standard in this matter.

2. Consecration. 'Remember that thou *keep holy* the Sabbath day.' The whole of our time belongs to God. We mark its sacredness by setting apart one day in the week as specially devoted to the worship of God. The notion of 'worship' has been largely lost sight of in modern England. It is said that scarcely seven per cent. of the population of London attend any place of worship whatever on Sundays. Worship is a faculty that needs cultivating; it requires opportunities for its exercise. What it practically means is any act of self-dedication which lifts up our hearts or minds to God. We may worship in church, or amid the sights and sounds of nature; but worship is everywhere and always essentially the same. It means inward self-surrender—the consecration of our inmost personality—to God.

Now the main value of Sunday lies in the fact that it is an opportunity for recalling and steadily setting before our minds the thought of God. Some forty years ago, I believe, an experienced man of affairs observed that incomparably the most serious symptom in modern social life was 'the gradual disappearance from men's minds of the thought of God.' This is why Christians are uneasy at the growing secularisation of Sunday. On this one day in the week the pressure of week-day cares, pursuits, and interests is intermitted; an opportunity comes for bringing before men the thought of God, for reminding them of 'the things that shall be hereafter,' for

¹ See Barrow, *Of Industry, in Five Discourses* (1695), quoted by W. Cunningham in *The Gospel of Work*, pp. 39-41.

awakening in them ideas, hopes, and longings which cannot find an entrance during the turmoil of the week. The general neglect of worship is a disquieting symptom because it implies forgetfulness of God and of His righteous claim upon human life.

3. So we come to the third great principle of Sunday observance—the law of rest or recreation. There is good reason for thinking that for three centuries there was no cessation of *work* on Sundays¹; but from the first the day was marked out as one of special *worship*. Sunday is, in fact, a day for the true life—repressed to a great extent during the week—to revive and expand. It is not a day of ‘rest’ in the sense of mere vacant idleness. It is a day of ‘recreation’ in its noblest sense. We greatly misuse it if we give up the whole of it to slothful ease or the mere pursuit of enjoyment, if we forget the claims of servants and *employés*, if we simply seek our own pleasure² and omit to honour Him whose own day Sunday is. Sunday, then, is a day of freedom, a day for the renewal of our higher life. Everybody must determine for himself what is morally right in this matter, but speaking generally a good rule is to *change* our occupations on Sunday, and to give free play to faculties which are in danger of becoming starved or atrophied during the pressure of daily business.

From the point of view of a loyal Churchman, an ideal Sunday would include such elements as these:—(1) There should of course be *worship*. Sunday, as a rule, should begin with attendance at an early communion. As regards attendance at other services, people need to be reminded, first, that common worship is a Christian duty, the neglect of which means the impoverishment of the Church’s corporate life. The Apostolic writer to the Hebrews urges them not to forsake ‘the assembling of themselves together’ (Heb. x. 25); he bids them, as it were, knit more closely the bonds of corporate life in view of the present distresses and impending trials of the Church of

¹ Observe, there is nothing about cessation of *work* in the New Testament.

² Cp. Isa. lviii. 13.

God. We need to remember that the neglect of public worship not only dishonours Almighty God, but weakens the forces that make for good in the social life of men.

(2) We owe to our servants—that grievously neglected class—the help of example in this matter, and fair freedom of opportunity for the worship of God. It is apparently accepted as inevitable now-a-days that servants should neither be communicants nor even attend church. The unthinking selfishness of well-to-do people is more and more undermining the sense of religious duty in those who serve them.

(3) Lastly, Sunday is an opportunity for cultivating our highest faculties. There should be some study of the Bible, some reading of wholesome and noble literature, prose or poetry, some occupation (*e.g.* the hearing of good music) that will counteract the ‘Philistinism’ towards which in these days of inordinate athleticism we tend to gravitate. The late Mr. Gladstone says a word in point on this matter. Writing to a son at Oxford he says, ‘Though we should to the best of our power avoid secular work on Sundays, it does not follow that the mind should remain idle. There is an immense field of knowledge connected with religion, and much of it is of a kind that will be of use in the schools, and in relation to your general studies. In these days of shallow scepticism, so widely spread, it is more than ever to be desired that we should be able to give a reason for the hope that is in us.’ I suppose Mr. Gladstone intends to suggest that part of Sunday should be given up to reading or thinking about questions of faith. His advice is worth pondering, especially by those who contemplate taking holy orders. But, in general, what is needed is some reading of a higher and wider kind than most of us find possible in the week. Few things, for instance, are more stimulating than a good biography. ‘The great good,’ says Bishop Phillips Brooks, ‘of reading history or biography, . . . the great gain to be got from it is a deeper worship and reverence for duty as the king and parent of all human life¹.’

¹ *Life of Phillips Brooks*, by A. V. G. Allen, i. 349.

Nor should it be forgotten that our Lord made the Sabbath a day of bounty and beneficence. Some form of work for others—*e.g.* teaching in a Sunday school, or helping in a mission service—is a most appropriate occupation for Sunday, and directly tends to foster in us the spirit of devotion, which finds its highest rest and joy in the service of God.

In conclusion, we should bear in mind that the secularisation of Sunday means the loss of something which has undoubtedly helped to build up our greatness as a nation. Canon Barnett says very wisely that as 'the observance of the Sabbath has rested on religion, the non-observance must also rest on religion'. If our Sunday is to be more intelligently and freely used for the good of man, we must keep steadily in view the great principles which underlie its true observance. The secret of a happy and profitable Sunday is to be found partly in honest and hearty work during the week, partly in 'regarding the day' as God's rather than our own. A true Christian will feel himself restrained from any Sunday pursuits which hinder him from serving God better, which interfere with his neighbour's leisure or wound his conscience. He will exercise that prudence which Augustine defines as follows, *Amorem bene discernentem ea quibus adiuvetur in Deum ab iis quibus impediri potest*¹.

R. L. OTTLEY.

¹ On 'Sunday Reform' in *The Service of God*, p. 295 (well worth reading). See also the remarks (written from a very different standpoint) of Mr. Bosanquet in *The Civilisation of Christendom*, p. 14.

² *De moribus Ecclesiae*, xxv.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LIFE OF DAVID.

The story of the life of David, as presented in the Old Testament, is one that has been so familiar to all of us from our earliest childhood, that any fresh attempt which aimed at merely reproducing its well-known features might well be regarded as superfluous. The object of the present article, however, is not so much to give a connected narrative of the life of David, as to examine the sources from which our knowledge of his life is derived, with a view to ascertaining how far they agree—or differ—in their representation of it. For though the Old Testament has preserved to us a portrait of the warrior-king, which, both in its main outlines and also in the majority of its details, may be accepted beyond question as a faithful reflection of the original, it cannot be denied that a closer scrutiny of the canvas which contains the portrait produces a strong impression that the latter has been considerably touched up and, in many cases, worked over by later hands. In other words, when we consider the history of David from a critical standpoint, we discover that the various parts which go to make up the whole frequently disagree with and contradict one another, and cannot therefore have emanated from the same source. Hence if we wish to restore the original picture to its true form, it is obvious that we must subject the materials at our command to a thorough examination with a view to detecting and removing all the accretions by which it is at present obscured.

Our knowledge of the life of David is derived from three main sources: I. Samuel xvi.—II. Kings ii., I. Chronicles ii. 13-17, iii. 1-9, x.—xxix. (to which we may add Ruth iv. 18-22), and the titles of some of the Psalms. A little consideration, however, will make it clear that, for the present purpose, we

can afford to ignore the two latter sources. For the book of Chronicles is admittedly a late work, of which the major part is based either directly or indirectly on the earlier records contained in the books of Samuel or Kings; and in no case can it be shown that the chronicler was possessed of any sources demonstrably older than these two books. As far, too, as the life of David is concerned the chronicler is in substantial agreement with the earlier history in those cases where the two accounts are parallel. There are, it is true, considerable additions and omissions in the later work, but both of these have their origin in that ideal point of view which is characteristic of it. Similarly but little historical value can be attached to the titles of the Psalms in so far as they bear on the history of David. For of the 73 Psalms which bear the title 'to David,' the majority can be shown by internal evidence to possess no claim to Davidic authorship. This fact alone casts grave suspicions on the trustworthiness of the titles as a whole, and compels us in each case to determine the authorship of a Psalm on internal grounds only. Hence, though the possibility of Davidic Psalms is by no means denied, it is scarcely possible, in view of the uncertainty that must prevail on this point, to utilise any particular Psalm for the purpose of illustrating the life and character of David.

We are thus thrown back upon the two Books of Samuel (properly *one* book) and I. Kings i. and ii. as the chief sources of our information; but even here, as has been already hinted, the task of reconstructing the original history of David is by no means a simple one. For a careful examination of the structure of these books at once reveals the fact of their *composite* nature. Stated briefly, critical research may be said to have established the following results:—(a) that the editor of these books has compiled his history from two main sources; (b) that these sources are quite independent of one another, being, in particular, distinguished by their different point of view; and (c) that the editor has contented himself for the most part with reproducing the various incidents which he relates in a two-fold

form, and has made little or no attempt to harmonise the two versions. This latter phenomenon, viz., the duplication of incidents, forms a marked feature of the earlier history of David and, indeed, of the whole of the first book of Samuel. But it is obvious that when the same incident is given in two different and, in some cases, mutually exclusive forms, either the one or the other must be the more original and therefore the more worthy of credit, though it does not follow that the less original form is to be rejected *in toto*. Our first task then is to ascertain which is the older and more trustworthy of the two narratives. The main criterion for separating the two main sources from which the present story is derived, is the difference in point of view which characterises the parallel narratives, a difference which is largely determined by the age at which they were written. In the sections derived from what we may provisionally call the earlier source or narrative, the history is presented in a simple straightforward manner; and the various scenes and incidents are described in a vivid and graphic style, which bears all the marks of a high antiquity: this impression is further borne out by the religious standpoint of the narrator, and, to a certain extent also, by the language. Those sections, on the other hand, which belong to the other source, though they in many cases reproduce an early tradition, yet present it in a form which appears to have been accommodated to the views of a later age, and more especially shows traces of having been influenced by the religious teaching of the prophets.

The above explanation, however, is not sufficient to account for all the peculiarities of the books of Samuel in their present form. For even when we have separated the two main narratives, which were welded together by the first editor, there still remain a number of sections, which, on internal grounds, cannot be assigned to either of these sources, or to their editor. Many of these are no doubt due, in their present form, to a member of that Deuteronomic School whose labours have left such clear traces in the other historical books of the Old Testament: instances in I. & II. Samuel are the con-

cluding summaries which mark off the main division of the history (I. Samuel xvi. 47-51 and II. Samuel viii.), and the various chronological notices (I. vii. 2; II. ii. 10, 11; v. 4, 5). It is almost certain that this second editor intended to omit the large section II. Samuel ix-xx. as inconsistent with his view of history, and to substitute for it the summary of David's reign contained in ch. viii. (compare the similar action on the part of the Deuteronomic redactor of Judges, who omitted i. 1—ii. 5, 9, 17-21 and possibly ch. xvi.) The actual preservation of these chapters, which undoubtedly contain a genuinely old narrative, is probably due to yet another editor, who simply restored the rejected chapters alongside of ch. viii. Lastly there are a few passages which clearly possess little or no historical value, and must have been inserted at a very late date. This theory of a succession of editorial revisions does not perhaps commend itself at first sight, but a consideration of the facts, which are brought to light by a critical examination of the text, leaves little room for doubt on this point. As regards the history of David, however, we are chiefly concerned with the first stage in the composition of the books of Samuel, viz., the welding together of the two main narratives by the first editor. For, speaking generally, it is to this process that we owe nearly all the difficulties and discrepancies which occur in that history. The following analysis will, it is hoped, furnish a complete justification of this statement.

In the books of Samuel the life of David is not presented in the form of a continuous narrative, but is rather set forth in a series of striking incidents which are, as a rule, clearly marked off from one another, and only exceptionally exhibit a somewhat loose connexion. Owing to this fact, which arises in part from the method of composition employed by the editor, we are enabled to treat the various incidents separately, without prejudicing the main course of the history. This is the more convenient as the history falls naturally into the following divisions:—(1) I. Ch. xvi. 1—xviii. 4, David's introduction to Saul; (2) xviii. 5—xx. 42, His life at court; (3) xxi.—xxvii., His

flight and life as an outlaw; (4) xxviii.—II. i., Saul's last struggle with the Philistines, and his death; (5) II. ii.—iv, The struggle between the houses of Saul and David; (6) v. 1—viii. 18, David king of all Israel; (7) II. ix.—xx., I. Kings i.—ii., The history of David's family.

I.—DAVID'S INTRODUCTION TO SAUL.¹

I. SAMUEL xvi. 14-23.

14 Now the Spirit of the LORD had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD troubled him. 15 And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. 16 Let our Lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man who is a cunning player on the harp: and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well. 17 And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me. 18 Then answered one of the young men, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and prudent in speech,

and a comely person, and the LORD is with him. 19 Wherefore Saul sent messengers unto Jesse, and said, Send me David thy son, which is with the sheep. 20 And Jesse took an ass laden with bread, and a bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them by David his son unto Saul. 21 And David came to Saul, and stood before him: and he loved him greatly; and he became his armour-bearer. 22 And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me; for he hath found favour in my sight. 23 And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took the harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.

I. SAMUEL xvii.-xviii. 4.

1 Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and they were gathered together at Socoh, which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephesdammim. 2 And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched in the vale of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. 3 And the Philistines stood on the mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on the mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them. 4 And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines,

named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span. 5 And he had an helmet of brass upon his head, and he was clad with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass. 6 And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a javelin of brass between his shoulders. 7 And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam; and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron: and his shield-bearer went before him. 8 And he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set your battle

¹ It has been thought advisable, for the sake of greater clearness, to give the text of the Revised Version in full in the earlier sections.

in array? am not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? choose you a man for you, and let him come down to me. 9 If he be able to fight with me, and kill me, then will we be your servants: but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall ye be our servants, and serve us. 10 And the Philistine said, I defy the armies of Israel this day; give me a man, that we may fight together. 11 And when Saul and all Israel heard those words of the Philistine, they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

12 Now David was the son of that Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-judah, whose name was Jesse; and he had eight sons: and the man was an old man in the days of Saul, stricken *in* years among men. 13 And the three eldest sons of Jesse had gone after Saul to the battle: and the names of his three sons that went to the battle were Eliab the firstborn, and next unto him Abinadab, and the third Shammah. 14 And David was the youngest: and the three eldest followed Saul. 15 Now David went to and fro from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Beth-lehem. 16 And the Philistine drew near morning and evening, and presented himself forty days.

17 And Jesse said unto David his son, Take now for thy brethren an ephah of this parched corn, and these ten loaves, and carry *them* quickly to the camp to thy brethren; 18 and bring these ten cheeses unto the captain of their thousand, and look how thy brethren fare, and take their pledge. 19 Now Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel, were in the vale of Elah, fighting with the Philistines. 20 And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him; and he came to the place of the wagons, as the host which was going forth to the

fight shouted for the battle. 21 And Israel and the Philistines put the battle in array, army against army. 22 And David left his baggage in the hand of the keeper of the baggage, and ran to the army, and came and saluted his brethren. 23 And as he talked with them, behold, there came up the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, out of the ranks of the Philistines, and spake according to the same words: and David heard them. 24 And all the men of Israel, when they saw the man, fled from him, and were sore afraid. 25 And the men of Israel said, Have ye seen this man that is come up? surely to defy Israel is he come up: and it shall be, that the man who killeth him, the king will enrich him with great riches, and will give him his daughter, and make his father's house free in Israel. 26 And David spake to the men that stood by him, saying, What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine, and taketh away the reproach from Israel? for who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God? 27 And the people answered him after this manner, saying, So shall it be done to the man that killeth him. 28 And Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spake unto the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, Why art thou come down? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart; for thou art come down that thou mightest see the battle. 29 And David said, What have I now done? Is there not a cause? 30 And he turned away from him toward another, and spake after the same manner: and the people answered him again after the former manner. 31 And when the words were heard which David spake,

they rehearsed them before Saul ; and he sent for him. 32 And David said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail because of him ; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine. 33 And Saul said to David, Thou art not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him : for thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth. 34 And David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep ; and when there came a lion, or a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock, 35 I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth : and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him. 36 Thy servant smote both the lion and the bear : and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing he hath defied the armies of the living God. 37 And David said, The LORD that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine. And Saul said unto David, Go, and the LORD shall be with thee. 38 And Saul clad David with his apparel, and he put an helmet of brass upon his head, and he clad him with a coat of mail. 39 And David girded his sword upon his apparel, and he assayed to go : for he had not proved it. And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these ; for I have not proved them. And David put them off him. 40 And he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in the shepherd's bag which he had, even in his scrip ; and his sling was in his hand : and he drew near to the Philistine. 41 And the Philistine came on and drew near unto David : and the man that bare the shield went before him. 42 And when the Philistine looked about and saw David, he disdained him : for he was but a youth, and ruddy, and withal of a fair

countenance. 43 And the Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves ? And the Philistine cursed David by his gods. 44 And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field. 45 Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a javelin : but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, which thou hast defied. 46 This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand ; and I will smite thee, and take thine head from off thee ; and I will give the carcases of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth ; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel : 47 And that all this assembly may know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear : for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hand. 48 And it came to pass, when the Philistine arose, and came and drew nigh to meet David, that David hastened, and ran toward the army to meet the Philistine. 49 And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead ; and the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell upon his face to the earth. 50 So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and with a stone, and smote the Philistine, and slew him ; but there was no sword in the hand of David. 51 Then David ran, and stood over the Philistine, and took his sword, and drew it out of the sheath thereof, and slew him, and cut off his head therewith. And when the Philistines saw that their champion was dead, they fled. 52 And the men of Israel and of Judah arose, and shouted, and pursued the Philistines,

until thou comest to Gai, and to the gates of Ekron. And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim, even unto Gath, and unto Ekron. 53 And the children of Israel returned from chasing after the Philistines, and they spoiled their camp. 54 And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in his tent.

55 And when Saul saw David go forth against the Philistine, he said unto Abner, the captain of the host, Abner, whose son is this youth? And Abner said, As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell. 56 And the king said, Inquire thou whose son the stripling is. 57 And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him, and brought him before Saul with

the head of the Philistine in his hand. 58 And Saul said to him, Whose son art thou, thou young man? And David answered, I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Bethlehemite.

I. SAMUEL xviii. 1-4.

1 And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking unto Saul, that the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul. 2 And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house. 3 Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul. 4 And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his apparel, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.

A comparison of these two accounts shows clearly their inconsistency with one another, while it also reveals the methods by which, in this case, the editor has attempted to reconcile them. In the earlier narrative (ch. xvi. 14 f.), David is represented as a man of mature age, who is well known to his contemporaries both as an experienced warrior and also as a skilful musician: he is further described as prudent in speech (or, business), a comely person and one who visibly enjoys the favour of Jehovah. It is on account of his musical reputation that the son of Jesse is brought to court; for it is hoped that his playing on the harp may charm away the spirit of melancholy with which the king has been afflicted. The experiment succeeds; for the time being 'the evil spirit from the Lord' is driven away, and the king, who has been fully informed as to the parentage of the new comer, is so favourably impressed that he attaches him to his person as his armour-bearer.

But this account, which affords such an apt illustration of the statement 'that whenever Saul saw any mighty man, or any

valiant man, he took him unto him," (xiv. 52)¹ differs widely from that contained in ch. xvii. 1 f.

In the latter narrative of xvii. we have a vivid description of an encounter between the Philistines and the Israelites, in the course of which the army of Saul is defied for forty days by the giant Goliath of Gath. Despite the reward offered by Saul no one is willing to take up the challenge of the Philistine, and to settle the future relations of the two nations by engaging him in single combat. Among the followers of Saul were three sons of a Bethlehemite named Jesse, and owing to their prolonged absence from home their father determines to send them a supply of provisions. For this purpose he dispatches his youngest son David, whose business it was to look after his father's sheep, to the Israelite camp. On arriving at the scene of operations David hears the insolent challenge of the giant, and despite the sneers of his eldest brother Eliab, volunteers to fight the Philistine champion. The king seeks to shake the resolution of the youthful hero, but in vain. After attempting to wear the armour with which the king had clad him, David goes forth to the encounter armed only with his shepherd's staff and sling. With a stone from the latter he smites the giant in the forehead and finally slays him with his own sword. The downfall of their champion causes the utter rout of the Philistines, who are pursued by the Israelites as far as Gath and Ekron. As David went forth to meet Goliath, Saul made enquiries of Abner as to his parentage, but to no purpose; the information is only obtained from David himself after his victory. The narrative ends with an account of Jonathan's affection for the youthful victor, and the statement that Saul retained him in his service.

Thus according to this second narrative David is no tried warrior, but a mere shepherd lad who is unused to warlike weapons; he owes his introduction to Saul's court not to any

¹ According to the general accepted analysis of the preceding chapters, xvi. 14 would follow immediately after xiv. 52.

reputation for musical skill, but to his bravery in fighting Goliath; and lastly the king is described as entirely ignorant of his name and parentage, though according to xvi. 22 Saul both knows the name of his father, and has assigned David a permanent position at court. It is interesting to note that the discordance between the two accounts was already recognised by the editor who first combined them. For it is hardly doubtful that he inserted the sentence 'Now David went to and fro from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem' (xvii. 15), with a view to bringing the two narratives into harmony. The attempt, however, was hardly a successful one, for the inserted sentence does not agree either with the statement of xvi. 14 *f.* (according to which he is attached to Saul's person as his armour-bearer), or with the sequel of xvii. 1 *f.* (in which he is represented as totally unknown to the king). Probably also the clause 'which is with the sheep' (xvi. 19), which is inconsistent with the preceding description, represents yet another attempt of the editor to attain this same object. A further early effort in the same direction seems also to underlie the genuine text of the Septuagint Version (Codex Vaticanus). For the Hebrew text presupposed by that version apparently omitted ch. xvii. 12-31, 38b, 41, 48b, 50, 55—xviii. 5. But though the difficulties of Saul's ignorance in respect to David, and of the latter's residence at Bethlehem, are removed by these omissions, David is still represented as a mere youth (*cf.* vv. 33 and 42), and as one who is quite unaccustomed to the ordinary weapons of war.

Since then the two narratives do not admit of reconciliation, we have no alternative but to treat them as parallel accounts of the same incident. Of the two the shorter and simpler account in xvi. 14 *f.*—apart from the question of literary form—seems to have the greater claim to originality and historical accuracy. All doubt on this point, however, is removed by a consideration of the statement contained in II. Sam. xxi. 19, 'And Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim (read 'Jair' as I. Chron. xx. 5) the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' The Chronicler, it is true, makes

Elhanan slay (not Goliath but) 'Lahmi, the brother of Goliath,' but this latter reading is clearly a harmonistic correction¹ and cannot be held to invalidate the text of II. Sam. xxi. 19. In view of this passage, which not only places the downfall of Goliath in the reign of David, but also ascribes his defeat to Elhanan, we cannot attach any great historical value to the narrative of xvii. 1 *f.*, and must conclude that it assumed its present form at a period when the actual course of events was no longer accurately remembered, and it was possible to transfer the later exploit of Elhanan to his royal master. In other words, we can only regard the narrative of xvii. 1 *f.* as the outcome rather of popular tradition than of actual history. That this tradition, however, was by no means an isolated one, but rapidly acquired a firm hold on the popular imagination, is shown by the frequent references to it in the subsequent narrative (xix. 5, xxi. 9, xxii. 10-13). However, it seems almost certain (see below) that the earlier narrative also contained an account of some exploit of David's in connection with the Philistines, which originally formed an introduction to xviii. 6 *f.*, but was afterwards displaced by the Goliath incident. It would seem probable, therefore, that, though the later narrative is at fault in assigning the defeat of Goliath to David, it yet embodies a tradition with regard to some early exploit of David against the Philistines which is based on some actual occurrence.

It will have been noticed that in the above survey of the contents of chs. xvi. and xvii. no reference has been made to xvi. 1-13 (the anointing of David by Samuel), though these verses are obviously intended to describe David's first appearance on the stage of history. The reason for this omission is that the section cannot be regarded as historical, since the later history betrays no knowledge of its contents. Indeed, such an event as the anointing of David is inconsistent both with the language of Eliab to his youngest brother, in xvii. 28, and with

¹ A comparison of the two passages in the Hebrew at once reveals the manner in which this alteration has been effected.

David's own protest, in xviii. 18 : moreover, in the subsequent narratives of David's persecution by Saul, it is Saul, and only Saul, who is regarded as 'the anointed of Jehovah' (xxiv. 6, xxvi. 9, II. Sam. i. 14). Lastly, according to xvii. 14, Jesse apparently had only four sons and not eight as stated in xvi. 10 (xvii. 12 may be disregarded as a later addition), though in I. Chron. ii. 14-16, David is described as the seventh son of Jesse. In consideration of these facts, we are forced to conclude that the passage is a later interpolation. The most probable view of its origin is that it represents the pious endeavour of a later writer to supply what seemed a serious deficiency in the history of David, when compared with that of Saul, viz., the need of solemn consecration at the hands of Samuel. This view is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the later narratives also contain similar attempts, apparently by the same hand, at connecting the various stages of David's career with Samuel.

(To be continued.)

OLD ENGLISH ASCENSIONTIDE CUSTOMS.

As each season of the year comes round it brings with it the observance of a variety of customs, which to the reflective mind cause pleasant food for thought. Their origin, and the many steps by which they have acquired their present significance, are worth investigating, and afford useful material for a study in the tendencies and workings of the human mind, as it advances from stage to stage, modifying while it retains many of the practices and habits of an earlier and ruder age. A case in point is the custom which until quite recent times was widely observed on the three days which precede Ascension Day and which are known as the Rogation days. Then the rector, in company with his churchwardens and parishioners, was wont to walk around the bounds of the parish. Like so many other customs which have survived the fall of paganism and are observed anew under Christian conditions, its origin may probably be traced to a heathen source. In the spring of the pagan year a feast called Terminalia was held in honour of the god Terminus, who was worshipped as the god of fields and landmarks, and the keeper of peace and friendship among men. On the occasion of this feast processions marched into the country and prayers were offered up for blessings on the crops. Some refer the custom to the supplications which were offered to Eolus, the god of the winds, that he would bestow upon men his favourable blasts. In the following words Hasted, in his *History of Kent*, gives a quaint description of a survival of some such ceremony in a special locality:—

‘There is an odd custom used in these parts, about Keston and Wickam, in Rogation Week; at which a number of young men meet together for the purpose, and with a most hideous

‘noise, run into the orchards and, encircling each tree,
‘pronounce these words:

‘Stand fast root; bear fruit top;
‘God send us a Youling sop,
Every twig apple big,
Every bough apple enow.’

‘For which incantation the confused rabble expect a gratuity
‘in money, or drink, which is no less welcome; but if they are
‘disappointed of both, they with great solemnity anathematize
‘the owners and trees with altogether as insignificant a curse.

‘It seems highly probable that the custom has arisen from
‘the ancient one of perambulation among the Heathens, when
‘they made prayers to the gods for the use and blessing of the
‘fruits coming up, with thanksgiving for those of the preceding
‘year. And as the Heathens supplicated Eolus, God of the
‘Winds, for his favourable blasts, so in this custom they still
‘retain his name with a very small variation; this ceremony is
‘called *Youling*, and the word is often used in their invocations.’

As early as the fifth century we find Rogations, or special
litanies in use in France on occasions when rain or fine weather
was desired, and in 450 A.D., we read of Mamertus, Bishop of
Vienne, in the South of France, fixing the penitential and
intercessory prayers to be used on the fast days before
Ascension Day by the community going about in procession.
The custom dates, of course, earlier than the time of Mamertus,
who only defined the various ceremonial where it had been
irregularly observed before. The usage which he helped to fix
became more and more common, and at the Synod of Orleans
(511) it was definitely enacted that these litanies were to be
recited for three days before Ascension Day; and that none
might be prevented from attending the services, menials were
to be exempted from all their toils during the whole period. In
England when Alfred was king we find that the *gang-days*, as
they were then called, were regarded with the same sanctity as
Sunday, for Alfred issued a law that a double fine, similar to

that enforced on a Sunday, was to be levied for any offence committed on one of these three days.

In many of the old English service books we find picturesque and elaborate descriptions of the procession and the ritual which preceded it. The following description culled from *Divine Worship in the Church of England in the Fourteenth Century*, gives some idea of the imposing character of these processions.

‘First the boy with the Water Stoup, next the Cross-bearer, ‘two Cerofers in Albes, two Thuriblers, or one only, two ‘Reliquaries carried by two Deacons of the second rank in their ‘Choir habits, then Subdeacon, then Deacon, then the Priest, ‘but all without silk copes; and let the Procession go through ‘the midst of the Choir and Church and out of the Western ‘door to some Church in the city, chanting the following ‘Antiphone; let the standard of the Dragon precede the whole, ‘itself preceded by three red Banners; next to the Dragon the ‘Lion, followed by the other Banners.’ Passing out of the city by the Western gate they proceeded through the fields which lay to the North, singing and praying as they went for God’s mercy and blessing on the crops, and that He would avert plague and pestilence, and send good and seasonable weather and give the fruit when it was due. Through the fields they went to some Church in the suburbs, where more litanies were recited. They then returned by the Eastern gate of the city to the Church from whence they had started. On Tuesday they went by the reverse way to some other altar or place which had been appointed.

From Rock’s *Church of our Fathers* we insert this interesting account of *Grindall’s Instructions* for Rogation days. ‘In ‘Elizabeth’s time (1571) one of the heads of the Protestant ‘establishment found it necessary to say “Perambulations (were) ‘to be used by the people, for viewing the bounds of their ‘parishes, in the days of the Rogation commonly called Cross ‘week, or gang-days without wearing any surplice, carrying of ‘banners or handbells, or staying at crosses, or such-like popish ‘ceremonies.” ’

In 1662 *Articles of Enquiry* were issued to parishioners in England in order to ascertain the degree of faithfulness which was to be found among the parish priests, and one of the questions to which an answer was required was, Doth your minister go in perambulation about your parish saying and voicing the Psalms and suffrages by law appointed? Hooker, also, we find to have been extremely particular that this custom should be maintained.

There are many entertaining entries in the Churchwardens' accounts which throw light upon the importance that was attached to these proceedings. Hazlitt mentions the following entries in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where monies are 'found to have been paid on account of spiced bread, wine, ale, beer, and other needs for the Ascension Eve ceremony, including the Perambulation. The following are curious:—

1556.—Item, paid for bread, wine, ale and beer, upon Ascension Even and Day against my Lord Abbott and his Covent cam in Procession, for strewing herbs the samme day, 7s. 1d.

Lysons, in his 'Environs,' has quoted other entries from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary at Hill, London, 1682:—

	£	s.	d.
For fruit on Perambulation Day	1	0	0
For points for two years	2	10	0

The following extracts are from the books of the Churchwardens of Chelsea:—

	£	s.	d.
1670.—Spent at the Perambulation Dinner . .	3	10	0
Given to the boys that were whipt	0	4	0
Paid for poynts for the boys	0	2	0

As near to our own time as 1790, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August tells us, that 'Sometime in spring, 'I think the day before Holy Thursday, all the clergy attended 'by singing men and boys of the choir, perambulate the town 'in their canonicals singing hymns.' We read, of the same thing taking place in Wolverhampton, 'the sacrist, resident

‘prebendaries, and members of the choir assembled at Morning Prayer on Monday and Tuesday, in Rogation week, with charity children bearing long poles clothed with all kinds of flowers in season, which were afterwards carried through the streets.’

The gang-day customs, if they have not already died out, are rapidly becoming extinct. In the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire their place is entirely usurped by the Sunday School and parish processions, which form so pretty a spectacle during Whitweek, when the children are gaily dressed, and carry banners and poles, as they march through the parish singing their popular hymns.

M.



THE ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST.

That the Ascension of Jesus Christ as an historical fact should be seriously called in question is no cause for surprise. For while it seems to many of us that to deny it gives rise to a variety of problems, which cry for a satisfactory solution in vain, yet it must be confessed that its acceptance is attended with considerable difficulty, both as regards the scantiness of the accounts of its occurrence which have been handed down to us, and their somewhat conflicting character, and also in view of the silence which in general the gospels preserve towards it. To a large number of readers this combination of difficulties is insuperable, but it seems to us to be capable of explanation, provided only that the whole idea of an Ascension is not regarded as antecedently impossible.

The attack upon the traditional belief that our Lord 'Ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father' is directed from two quarters. Some will argue that the whole conception of an actual Ascension is unthinkable, while others, avoiding this dogmatic view, maintain that the evidence is too slender and too contradictory to support so weighty a conclusion. The former with Strauss will declare that a tangible body cannot enter a superterrestrial abode, or will object to the idea in its entirety as involving a material conception of heaven as a locality. The latter will point to the absence of any reference to the incident by the first two and the fourth Evangelists; they will remark upon the uncertain allusion to it in St. Luke's gospel, and will lay stress upon the obvious disparity between this account and the later narrative in the Acts. Finally they will declare that in St. Paul's view, when he wrote I. Cor. xv., no distinction existed between the Resurrection and the Ascension.

A just conception of all that is involved in the Resurrection of our Lord, and a true estimate of the nature of the Resurrection body, will go far to remove the sting from the objections of those who argue with Strauss, while a careful examination of the Gospels, and an investigation into the amount of reliance which can be placed upon the argument from silence, coupled with a just estimate of many early and undoubtedly important passages which reflect a very primitive belief in the Ascension as an historical fact, will, we venture to hope, tend to remove many of the difficulties which cluster around the literary aspect of the question.

Put as briefly as we are able to do it, this literary difficulty may be stated as follows. It is alleged that the Synoptic gospels in general know nothing of an actual Ascension. St. Matthew ends with the description of an appearance in Galilee, and Keim would have us believe that even this narrative is not due to the original writer inasmuch as the utterances do not impress one as specially characteristic, are not humanly cordial, and do not harmonise with the modesty of Jesus. The concluding verses in St. Mark which are separated in the RV. from the main narrative, are, upon internal and documentary evidence, very generally attributed to a later date. The words 'and He was carried up into heaven' in St. Luke xxiv. 51, are most probably a late addition for they are absent from the earlier western texts. There would be an obvious reason for the addition of these words when copying from earlier manuscripts, but none for their omission. St. John gives no account of the Ascension, and St. Paul in I. Cor. xv., breaks off without mentioning it.

The only explicit statement, we are told, is to be found in Acts I. and this is obviously at variance with Luke xxiv., the former mentioning a lapse of forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension, while the latter makes the two to take place on the same day. In like fashion also they say that in the majority of cases where the Ascension or Exaltation is men-

tioned, it is not separated from the Resurrection, but is treated as coincident with it.

In fact the early narratives which relate more or less directly the primitive belief in the Ascension, are attributed to a gradual growth in mythical conception which, we are told, is only to be expected of those early days. Spiritual realities, many will confess, underlie these material forms, and the latest school of thought which clusters round the name of Ritschl would have us estimate the Ascension only for its value as a spiritual conception, and would make this quite independent of the actual historic fact.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFICULTIES.

In an examination of the difficulties which have been collected into the preceding paragraphs, it will make for clearness if we begin with the literary difficulties, and we propose to take first the two most important passages which seem to bear directly upon the Ascension.

The Acts.—Granting that St. Luke is the author both of the Gospel which bears his name and of the Acts, how is it, we may justly ask, that upon the most natural interpretation, the Gospel represents the Ascension as taking place on the evening of the Resurrection Day, whereas in the Acts the incident is placed after forty days. While many object to the historical claims of the narrative in the Gospel, they still more emphatically refuse to give credence to that in the Acts, which it would appear placed the Ascension on a Thursday. They urge that the earliest sub-apostolic account, that contained in the Epistle of Barnabas, records an Ascension on a Sunday, and thereby supports the time which underlies the Gospel account rather than that of which we read in the Acts. The explanation which seems to them the most satisfactory is based upon the supposition that in the Acts St. Luke is giving an incident which was unknown to him when he wrote the Gospel, and that this incident represents the tradition which had in the meantime been growing up. It is also pointed out that the order in the closing verses of St. Mark is in support of the order in St. Luke.

Against the assertion that in the Acts St. Luke is repeating a tradition of mythical character which had been growing up, and which in the earliest times was totally absent, we would urge that there are several features in the narrative itself which bear the marks of real history, and which have not always been appreciated at their true value. They only bear out the general impression, which during the past few years, has been gaining ground, that St. Luke was a cautious and an accurate historian. One of these indications is the Apostles' unworthy conception of the kingdom, in which they imagined it to be an earthly and a national kingdom. This conception is betrayed in the words 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' A question revealing such spiritual dulness in the Apostles is quite out of place on the mythical hypothesis, but it is highly reasonable from all that we know of the Apostolic character of that time.

Yet, again, the expression 'the promise of the Father' is valuable for our purpose. The word 'promise' is Pauline, and is a word we might reasonably expect that his travelling companion, St. Luke, would use; but the expression 'the Father' is Johannine, and suggests the possible source of St. Luke's narrative. The lapse of forty days is antecedently probable when we consider the apparent object of our Lord's continued appearances, for it would seem to have been His aim to assure His disciples of the reality of His Resurrection, and to open their eyes to the true meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures. Finally, as it has been wisely pointed out, the words 'being seen of them forty days' do not rigidly and finally bind us to the view that the Ascension must have taken place on Thursday. Nor, in like manner, does the fact that later tradition, since the fourth century, has observed that day whereon to celebrate the accomplishment of the Ascension, compel us to ignore the possibility of its occurrence on a Sunday. An interval which would enable us to suppose that the Ascension took place on the Sunday could, with no violence to the text, be obtained from the narrative in the Acts.

St. Luke's Gospel.—In St. Luke's gospel, as we took occasion on a former page to notice, the phrase 'and He was carried up into heaven' (xxiv. 51) is at least doubtful. It would seem that it had no place in the earlier texts, for no motive can be imagined for its omission if it originally existed. But even apart from these words it is impossible not to feel that the Evangelist intends to describe a final separation, and the great joy with which the disciples returned almost compels us to believe that they were returning from a sight similar to that of which we read in Acts i. Certainly the difficulty of harmonizing the dates is great, but it need not be held to be an insuperable barrier to a belief in the incident of the Ascension itself.

St. Matthew.—To assert that no account of the Ascension occurs in St. Matthew does not prove much. The final events lay outside the scope of the first Gospel, which closes with the meeting in Galilee. The argument from silence is in this, as in so many other instances, at least precarious. But if no explicit narrative of the Ascension is to be found in St. Matthew, a knowledge of it is implicit in the words of Jesus to the High Priest, 'Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.'

St. Mark.—The original termination of the second gospel, if ever it was carried by St. Mark beyond xvi. 18, has been lost. The statistical style, the changed vocabulary even in the commonest words, and the different standpoint of the closing verses combine with the strong documentary evidence to assign them to another writer, and have led the Revisers to mark the fact by leaving a gap between the two. Thus we have no means of saying whether or not the earlier writer embodied the narrative of the Ascension in his gospel. It is worthy of note, however, that the order of events in the closing verses runs parallel to that in St. Luke's account.

St. John.—With John as with Matthew, although there is no narrative of the Ascension, there is abundant allusion to it.

As for instance where we read 'What then if ye shall behold the Son of Man ascending where He was before.' Even more remarkable are our Lord's words to Mary Magdalene, 'Touch Me not; for I have not yet ascended to the Father: but go to My brethren and tell them, I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God.' There is some uncertainty in the use of the present tense 'I am ascending' (*ἀναβαίνω*), which Westcott treats as if the process had already begun. The writer in *The Encyclopædia Biblica* adduces proofs which he considers adequate to show that, according to St. John, Jesus continued to appear on earth after He had ascended, in fact that the Resurrection and Ascension were simultaneous.

I. Cor. xv.—To object to the absence from this passage of a reference to the Ascension, and indeed to attempt to make much of St. Paul's general lack of direct allusion to it, is to mistake the aims and methods of the great Apostle, both in this particular passage, and in the rest of his letters, which assumed rather than proved the reality of the facts of our Lord's earthly history. In the passage in question St. Paul stops short at the words 'was seen.' His aim was to recall to the minds of his readers some strong teaching which he had given them concerning our Lord's Resurrection, and to show how it involved the resurrection of all believers. It is not even his object to prove the Resurrection of Jesus (he only strongly reasserts it) much less is it likely that he would go out of his way on this occasion to talk about the Ascension.

The Other Epistles.—In the Epistles of St. Paul the fact that Jesus is exalted to God's right hand is consistently assumed. In the Epistle to the Ephesians it reaches its most explicit statement, but in the earliest Epistles of all, those to the Thessalonians, Christ's triumphant return is repeatedly foretold. It is described as a descent, but this of course postulates a previous ascent (I. Thess. iv. 16, II. Thess. i. 7). In view of this, and in view of the fact that his letters had no particular purpose to perform in giving a narrative account of the Ascension, it is rash to deduce much from the absence of any

explicit statement of that event in St. Paul's Epistles. And further, it is most unlikely that he should have foreborne to mention the incident because he was ignorant of it, for as a great friend of St. Luke he would probably be aware of the account which that writer had learned and embodied in Acts i. It is worth while bearing in mind the imposing superstructure which St. Paul rears upon the belief in the exaltation of our Lord to God's right hand. We must also remember that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was a member of the Pauline school, and in Heb. iv. 14, we read an account written by a man who undoubtedly believed in a visible Ascension.

With regard to the antecedent objections, when it is urged that a tangible body is totally unsuited to a superterrestrial abode it is well to remember, as Dr. Milligan points out, that though our Lord was tangible to the hand of those He willed should touch Him, yet He was intangible, and even invisible, to those to whom He was unwilling to manifest Himself. In fact when we in any sense begin to dimly perceive the meaning of 'the spiritual body' of which St. Paul speaks, and when we realize how, while retaining its identity, it is yet freed from many of the limitations which we associate with it here, we shall find that this objection begins to lose its force. Similarly the conception that the Ascension involved rather a change of state than a change of place will extract the sting from the charge that the current opinions involve a material conception of heaven as a locality.

In our short review of the New Testament allusions to the Ascension as a separate and definite incident, while perhaps this can be only directly deduced from one or two passages, it is indirectly referred to in a variety of places, and the significance of these references is the more marked inasmuch as they are incidental. But if from these considerations we turn to the difficulties connected with an acceptance of the negative view we shall find that they are neither few nor capable of simple solution. If Christ did not ascend, if He did not on some unique and

final occasion say farewell to the disciples, how can we account for their steady faith? The appearances during the sojourn of forty days were to reassure the disciples and fix firmly in their mind the belief that He was risen indeed, but if He suddenly departed without a definite announcement that they must no longer expect Him to come constantly in the form which had been His wont, their faith would have been tried to the breaking point and questions would arise as to why He delayed a fresh visit.

Viewing the subject from the standpoint of a belief in the Resurrection it is difficult to imagine no Ascension, for we can by no means suppose that the Lord continued to live as an inhabitant of this earth, or that He subsequently died a second time. The very impartation of Divine life of which each Christian, in his degree, is conscious, gives the lie to the supposition that He died again.

If we examine the mythical hypothesis, where it is urged that the beautiful story had arisen during the interval which elapsed between the writing of St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, and that it was based upon similar incidents recorded in Jewish history, it will be found that the hypothesis is not adequate to account for all the facts. It is unlikely that St. Luke, who was an unusually careful historian, would break the harmony of his dual work, and it is unlikely that art, and still more, that mere myth could supply those unconscious touches of truthfulness to which in the passage in the Acts we have already called attention.

We are told by some that the myth had its foundation in the narrative of Elijah. If the two incidents are closely compared, they will be found to contain but little in common. The Lucan narrative is singularly beautiful and singularly dignified and restrained, as even Keim was bound to admit. We have but to read contemporary Jewish literature to be struck with the contrast. It often seems to us that the sobriety of the Evangelic narratives is never fully recognised owing to the simple fact that we measure them by the literary standards of

our own day. Even when we do this we are struck with their simplicity and transparent truthfulness, but when we compare them with the wildly extravagant Apocryphal Gospels we cannot fail to be impressed with the spectacle, in such a fantastic thinking age, of these sober narratives, and we are forced to conclude that they, in their broad features, could not have been written unless they had a solid basis in fact.

In the present instance very little ground is to be found for the anticipation of an Ascension in the current Messianic beliefs, for they were centred on an earthly, not a heavenly reign.

Finally, there is a widespread conception that the Ascension is valuable merely as expressing the great and unquenchable belief that God must have a high destiny for all those who walk in the light of His commands, and that therefore He must in some unique way have acknowledged One Who in His walk had not swerved to the right hand nor to the left. To us this view seems powerfully to support the *fact* of the Ascension, and not in any sense to render it unnecessary as a foundation. If we consider the depressing circumstances in which the belief in the Resurrection and Ascension grew up, we shall hardly be inclined to suppose that a historical basis for such a belief was unnecessary.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE.

The basis of the Christian faith is the Incarnation and the completion of the Incarnation is the Ascension. The Incarnation had for its object the union of earth and heaven, and with this intent the Divine Son assumed our humanity, and was clothed with our flesh. At the Nativity, heaven descended to earth in a more real sense than it had ever drawn nigh before. At the Ascension, the robe of flesh indeed was laid aside, but not so the humanity which had been assumed. The Ascension carried earth to heaven. Thus the counsel and purpose of God, which had been decreed before all time, and was begun at the Nativity and unfolded at the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, was completed at the Ascension. Men look for an ideal state which shall crown a perfect life and they see it there.

He who now sits at the right hand of God is no other than the Jesus who walked and talked with His disciples while on earth; the High Priest in heaven is the One Who, while here below, 'was tempted in all points like as we.' This thought brought an intensity of joy to the disciples' minds. The Lord Himself had foretold that this would be so when He said 'If ye loved Me ye would have rejoiced, because I go unto the Father.' It was joy to know that the Master who had suffered on earth was exalted in heaven, and it was an excess of joy to know that He was there not as God alone but as man as well. On earth He could only be present to the few; in His exalted state after His Ascension 'His quickening spirit' is freed from this limitation and can 'enter into our spirits, and make us sharers of its victory.' Here is the point of union and here is the added cause for joy. The Apostles had known Christ after the flesh, but now they may know him in a more effectual way. In His earthly life even the Lord had been thwarted, and had failed in His efforts to arouse the dull hearers of His words; despite the signs He wrought 'They believed not on Him.' But in His ascended state all power is given to Him; and to us, in so far as we are in union with Him, all things are possible. We need but consider St. Paul's life to see how far this union may carry us, and rich is the meaning of the phrase he so frequently employs, 'in Christ.'

In quiet dignity the Lord entered on His earthly life, and in simplicity and tranquillity He bids His last farewell. It is not in the rushing mighty wind that God speaks the deepest things to man; it is in the still small voice. But beneath the calmness of the circumstance there lay a purpose and a significance which human thought will always fail to comprehend, but for which human hearts will never cease to overflow with gratitude.

H. J.

PILATE'S SENTENCE.

‘Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no King but Cæsar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified.’—St. John xix. 15-16.

‘We have no King but Cæsar!’ Say ye so?
Aye, shout it once again, ‘We have no King
But Cæsar!’ Is not this Jerusalem—
The ancient capital of Jewish Kings—
The city where of old King Solomon
Reared the first Temple, and upon its site
Where stands to-day the splendid edifice
King Herod was in building forty years?
Are ye not Jews?—the proudest, stubbornest
Of all the races under Heaven’s sun,
Whose pent up force of patriotic zeal
Is ever bursting out in fruitless spleen
Against submission to Imperial Rome?

And I—am I not Pontius Pilate?—now
The delegated governor from Rome,
That hold my court in your proud capital
And strongly garrison your Temple Hill
With Roman soldiery? Is there not cause?
Have ye not flocked from countries far and near
To keep the Passover, your Sacred Feast
Commem’rative of your deliverance
From Egypt’s servitude? Is it a time
When patriotic passion doth not burn
More fiercely in your breasts? When, if ye dared,

Would ye not rise in national revolt
Against your present masters? Ask yourselves,
Is it a time when he who in your midst
Holds office under Rome can go to sleep,
Dismiss his sentinels and bid his troops
Take holiday? Nay, Pilate knows too well
The surging temper of your rebel hearts;
And Roman swords are ready at his call
To issue flashing from a thousand sheaths.

What imports then this strange unlooked for shout,
'We have no King but Cæsar'! Whence this burst
Of jealous loyalty to Cæsar's throne?
This savage call for vengeance on a Jew
Who dares put forth a claim to be your King?
Surpassing strange and welcome news I trow
For me to send to Rome: 'I have this day,
'Compliant with the clamours of the Jews
'Now congregated in Jerusalem
'To keep their yearly Feast, condemned to death
'A certain Jew named Jesus, against whom
'No other charge was brought than this—that he
'Made claim to be a King. Whom I, assured
'He entertained no dangerous design
'Against the rule of my Imperial Lord,
'Would fain forthwith have set at liberty;
'But from the leaders of the Jews, their priests,
'And the whole multitude the cry arose,
'We have no King but Cæsar!' Whereupon
'The sentence gave I as they did desire,
'And send these tidings to my August Lord
'That from them he may glad assurance gain
'That among all his subjects none are more
'Devoted to his person and his throne
'Than these same Jews, who angrily demand
'Verdict of death against a brother Jew
'Who harbours rebel thoughts to be their King.'

Thus will I write to Rome, and for yourselves
Take ye your would-be King, flock to the hill
Outside your city gates and lift him up
In sight of all upon a traitor's cross,
Proclaim aloud, that, Thus it is the will
Of Jews, that he should die a traitor's death
Whoever dares dispute the Sovereignty
Of Rome's great Cæsar. Go, set up the cross!
And, mark ye, Rome shall hold you to your word
And bid you furnish such another throne
For any Jew hereafter who aspires
To wield the sceptre in Jerusalem.

L. B. CHOLMONDELEY.



THE GROWTH OF CREEDS.

III.

Every new advance in theology is attended by experiments in thought which finally come to be rejected, and also by the drag of an old orthodox party which objects to new knowledge or speculation. The nineteenth century abundantly illustrates the method of progress: so does the third century.

When Christian thinkers set themselves the task of explaining the Christian revelation and experience of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they had to consider the wrong theories of the Gnostics and the Monarchians and they were confronted with the opposition of many who held the same faith as themselves. Tertullian contributed a great deal, especially in terminology, to thought about the relation of the Persons of the Godhead, but he complains that amongst Latin-speaking Christians at the beginning of the third century there was great suspicion of his attempts to explain the mystery. In time, however, the newer theology, with its technical terms and attempts to define clearly, was embraced, and the Latin Christians as a whole stood in solid array in its defence as it was embodied in the Nicene Creed.

It is only with the aid of the mass of Christians who are always conservative, just because their experience is of eternal realities and is somewhat detached from systematic thought, that the theologians win their battles; but they win them far less by the excellence of their own thought than by the fatal mistakes of their opponents. Gnosticism, for instance, found its great intellectual antagonist in Irenæus, but probably the worst was over when he attacked it with arguments which fixed both the idea of God and the method of forming it for the Christendom of succeeding centuries. It was not mind which won the day: in that case victory would have rested with the intellectually superior Gnostics. It was Christian worship—the coming to God through Christ—that determined the issue. That God, the Father, never seemed so far off as the Gnostics

said He was: the Mediator who was their Saviour could be no unreal man or some very inferior being among the many who made up the fullness of the Godhead. Mind only leads the way, expresses the truth, and secures the position in every advance which the Christian conviction of the many faithful does not finally reject as error. This is not to say that the only force worth noticing as determinative in the conflicts of Christianity is an infallible inner sense. It is, however, to lay chief stress upon Christian inspiration which is not the monopoly of a particular class or of a particular age of the Christian Church; and though its most characteristic effect is in convincing the whole man of the Christian verities, yet its normal action is neither independent of the Christian tradition nor of the Christian society: it is nourished and corrected by both.

We bring disputed teaching to the text of Scripture; but in the first quarter of the second century the appeal to Holy Scripture would have meant to most Christians an appeal to the Old Testament, though they were beginning to quote the writings now included in our New Testaments as Scripture. Even if the mystical method of interpretation of the Old Testament which prevailed had allowed of any finality, which in general it did not, those Scriptures did not give an answer to the questions which were agitating the Church. Who was Jesus Christ? What was His teaching? What was the commandment of the Lord through the Apostles?—these were the vital questions. In other words, the men of that generation were without a settled New Testament, and, according to the answers which they gave to these questions, were the writings which they selected as being authoritative. The variety of selections was as extraordinary as the variety of doctrines, and the various systems of doctrine based their claims to authority on varieties of tradition. The deciding factor was tradition, and guarantees for a right tradition were therefore of the first importance.

The word tradition has come to mean in a Christian connection something that may be true, but is not so certain as

the history and teaching in the New Testament. That distinction is a natural and necessary product of later centuries, but it hardly existed at all in the time of which we are writing. The Apostles, the Evangelists, the Elders handed down the tradition, and they might either write it or speak it. There were some who, like Papias, preferred to hear the story from a reliable companion of Apostles when every Apostle was dead rather than to learn it from written tradition. It was always possible to claim that much had been handed down which had not been written, and that was what the Gnostics did. The only way of meeting the insidious attack was by pointing to certain guarantees which ensured the preservation of a true as against a false tradition. Irenæus, in the later part of the century, appeals to two such.

THE ARGUMENT FROM TRADITION.

Irenæus writing to his friend Florinus, who had forsaken the Christian faith of his youth, reminds him of the happy days which they had spent together in Asia Minor as disciples of the saintly Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna. He says that he remembers the events of that time much better than the things which had happened to him later in the press of a busy life, and among them he recalls the many reminiscences which Polycarp related of his intercourse with the last of the Apostles, St. John. That single line of clear tradition through well-known leaders of the Church, with the best opportunities of knowing the truth and above suspicion of intentional unverity, is invaluable to the historical student. But there must have been thousands of instances of a similar connection in every Church which had been blessed with the residence of, or a visit from, one of the Apostles; in fact, the continuity of the Church meant that. The historical student may prefer to follow the single clear thread of personal connection, but the Church of Rome or of Ephesus was anchored by a stout rope to the primitive tradition through its connection with Apostles; and, though we cannot unravel the strands and threads, we ought to

be able to appreciate the stability which it ensured. Thus, Irenæus supposes that there is doubt in the Church as to what was truly apostolic, and says that the answer must be sought in the consentient teaching of the apostolic churches, which, moreover, had been so well ordered by means of a regular succession of ministers, especially of chief ministers, the bishops, that there was a strong guarantee for the preservation of character, of teaching, and of historic tradition, whether written or oral. It is true that he goes a step further, and that, feeling both the possibility of some error and the need of certainty, he claims for the bishops a *charisma veritatis certum*—a sure gift of the truth—but, apart from that, his argument is good to establish a strong presumption in favour of the truth of the teaching of apostolic churches.

If, however, these conclusions were disputed, there remained the simplest form of Christian tradition as the very citadel of the orthodox position. That was the Creed. The careful instruction of the catechumen before baptism was the best guarantee for the preservation of the main facts and doctrines of the Christian Faith. When that instruction had been summed up in a set form of words the position was doubly assured; and that was done at Rome early in the second century. Thus, Irenæus, at the end of that century, appeals for his authority to the general tradition of the Church, organised under its bishops and most clearly set forth in those writings generally acknowledged by it to be apostolic, and to the Creed. All this he regards as the 'rule of faith,' but he more particularly uses the term in reference to that Roman Creed which all the West accepted—'the rule of faith . . . received through baptism.' More and more the stress was laid on the Creed, as we may see from the writings of Tertullian, Bishop of Carthage, a younger contemporary of Irenæus on the other side of the Mediterranean. To him, the Creed was the rule of faith: adherence to it was the sign of a Christian and divergence from it deprived the heretic of the right to use the Scriptures of the New Testament. Christians might search after truth, but they must be assured

that it did not lie outside the limits of the Creed : the old woman looking for the lost coin *in her house* was to be their example.

The Roman Creed or the Apostles' Creed had become a 'test of things not seen' (Heb. xi. 1), the judge of speculations, for the Western half of Christendom ; but in the fourth century we have an example of a Creed as a test for the whole Christian world. Just when the Trinitarian controversy of the third century seemed to be dying away, the whole question was raised during the fourth century in a new form by Arius. The conflict divided the Eastern Church as nothing had done before. Arius was ready to worship Christ, to exalt Him as far as possible above men, but felt it necessary to deny Deity to Him except in some secondary sense. We will not go into the merits and weaknesses of the opposite schools of thought, nor involve ourselves in the toils of the weary creeds of that time. In the end the issue became clear as between two extremes and the middle party vanished. The original party of Arius became more negative and logical, and shocked all those who worshipped Christ. On the other hand the old conservative theologians who disliked the use of non-biblical terms and the attempt to explain or define the mysterious relations of the Godhead, and had tried to compromise by saying of the Son that He was 'like in essence' (ὁμοιωσίον) with the Father, came to see, that in order to preserve the truth which they possessed, they must go further and say that He is co-essential (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father. The Creed in which that definition is preserved is the Nicene Creed.

There was a terrible growth of bitterness and irreligion during the Arian Controversy. Some think that it was the wildest folly for Christians to quarrel about questions of Greek metaphysics. Was it necessary? The West accepted the Nicene position very easily because it already had the same truth expressed in a form congenial to itself and was not speculative enough to care for the refinements of Eastern thought. Probably most Western Christians accepting the terms, Person and Substance, which Tertullian gave them, had

crude and wrong ideas about the Holy Trinity as do also very many English Christians. Words which to the theologian or the philosopher mean one thing may to the man in the street mean another, and whilst on the one hand that suggests the immense importance of selecting the right terms, on the other it suggests that it is practically impossible to find terms which will not suggest wrong conceptions about such a mystery as the Holy Trinity to the average unmetaphysical believer.

Again, further east than Constantinople or Antioch, at Edessa in the Euphrates valley, there was a Syriac-speaking Church which seems to have escaped the troubles of the Arian controversy. Edessa was the centre of a group of Churches and this is the Creed of Aphraates, a Bishop of great influence and unblemished reputation.

THE CREED OF APHRAATES.¹

When a man shall believe in God, the Lord of all,
That made the heavens and the earth and the seas and all
that in them is,
Who made Adam in His image,
Who gave the Law to Moses.
Who sent of His Spirit in the Prophets,
Who sent His Messiah into the world ;
And that a man should believe in the bringing to life of the dead,
And believe also in the mystery of Baptism :
This is the Faith of the Church of God.
And that a man should separate himself
From observing hours and Sabbaths and months and seasons,
And enchantments and divinations and astrology and magic,
And from fornication and from revelling and from vain
doctrines,
The weapons of the Evil One, and from the blandishment
Of honeyed words, and from blasphemy and from adultery.
And that no man should bear false witness,
And that none should speak with double tongues ;
These are the works of the Faith that is laid
On the true rock, which is the Messiah,
Upon whom all the building doth rise.

¹ The creed is quoted from Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 84.

It is difficult to conceive that a creed of so simple, religious and practical a character expressed the faith of a Church not far from the Syrian Antioch. There is not a trace of the Nicene Creed in it and the rest of the writings of Aphraates shew little or no sign of Pauline theology. Mr. Burkitt expresses his sympathy with the simple religious spirit of this Syriac Bishop who exalts Jesus, the Messiah, to the right hand of God in the spirit of the hymn

The highest place that Heaven affords
Is His, is His by right.

That will ever be the attitude, for himself, of the unmetaphysical Christian who believes, worships and feels unable and unwilling to define. But all are not so, and the Creeds grew up to meet the needs of a whole Church of many nations and of men of different tempers; and one feels that Dr. Fairbairn is right when he says that 'unless religion be an eternal challenge to the reason it can have no voice for the imagination and no value for the heart.' History proves that 'clear and sweet as the Galilean vision may be, it would, apart from the severer speculation which translated it from a history into a Creed, have faded from human memory like a dream which delighted the light slumbers of the morning, though only to be so dissolved before the strenuous will of the day as to be impossible of recall.' Nevertheless, we have cause to be thankful that the Nicene Creed with its anathemas has been quite unintentionally replaced by another Creed, which the whole Church in East and West uses, viz., that Creed which we call the Nicene Creed. Dr. Hort proved the opinion of many centuries to be wrong and shewed that the original of our Creed was the Baptismal Creed of the most ancient of all the Churches, the Church at Jerusalem. Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who took infinite pains with his catechising, has left it to us in his published lectures to catechumens, and it was probably he who was responsible for adding to the Creed of his Church certain Nicene phrases and thus creating the Creed which is used throughout Christendom under that name. Clearly it is not the original

Creed, but yet it serves the purpose of the original, and those who recite it have to be thankful for a change which has given them a Creed so ancient and natural, so full of the spirit and beauty of worship, and so absolutely free from the bitterness of theological controversy.

Prolonged controversy, clear definition of 'the mystery of godliness,' a highly organised church with a vigilant discipline, bring their own dangers. That the Church did not escape without injury is attested by that psalm of victory, the Quicunque Vult, commonly but wrongly called the Athanasian Creed. The introductory and concluding clauses err by making a saving faith identical with adherence to dogma. However much one may be convinced that dogma is inevitable and necessary as the intellectual expression of our faith, however great be the responsibility of a Christian with a mind for the use of his mind, however great the condemnation of the individual for rashly breaking away from the dogmatic definitions of the Church because he is unable to understand or too wilful to seek humbly and patiently, we must allow that dogma is not equivalent to religion, and that adherence to Catholic Dogma is not the one thing necessary. 'Christian metaphysic is no more an end in itself than the analysis of good drinking water. By itself it leaves us thirsty.' Yet the Creed is a very grand and valuable assertion of the mind of the Church as it had been formed by the Arian controversy, and the debates which followed on the two-fold nature of Christ. The solemn and emphatic language with which it affirms the great facts of Christian revelation and experience without hinting how its assertions are to be harmonised or reconciled, shews us the true aim of the creeds. They are intensely practical and really conservative. If they had depended for their value on the truth of some metaphysical system, they would have vanished with the systems which they represented, and from the first would have been painfully inadequate. On the contrary, the conduct of the leading defenders of the Nicene Faith shews that they were not logic-ridden when they had to deal with men

who really agreed with them. 'The main object of Nicene opposition to Arianism was religious rather than theological, to ensure that prayers might be offered to Christ not with hope only, but with certainty.' The Christians of apostolic days had made their prayers to the Lord who redeemed them: St. Paul, mainly in the Epistles to the Colossians, and Ephesians, and Philippians, provided a theology to justify that; the Nicenes claimed to do no more than to make St. Paul's meaning clear in such language as would exclude a contrary doctrine of the day. And the object becomes still more apparent as we follow the history of the troubles which ensued next upon the attempt to explain the union of Deity and Humanity in one person. Every experiment of thought was tried. There were many councils and many condemnations for heresy, but such definitions as resulted do not go very far in explaining the mystery of the Incarnation; they are chiefly useful as warnings against mistakes that have been made. 'What the Church aimed at was not so much to furnish an exhaustive definition—metaphysical or other—of what it always recognised to be an ineffable 'mystery of godliness' as rather to maintain the integrity of the Christian faith against theories and speculations which did profess to explain it in a variety of directions. Christian faith may not be able to solve the mystery of the Incarnation, but it may recognise that certain theories do conflict with vital religious interests, and may feel called upon to contend very earnestly against them on that account.'

Christian theology did not cease to advance when creeds ceased to be promulgated. During the century in which the Quicunque Vult came from some unknown source into the world, St. Augustine was contributing great thoughts about the Church and Sacraments, Sin and Grace. The Middle Ages professed to accept his position, but it was not stated in a creed. That period was fertile in thoughts about the Atonement, but we find nothing more than text-books of an authoritative character. Indeed, the bonds of authority were

drawn so tight that there was no revolt of such force as to necessitate any important reconstruction; but when the spirit of enquiry and doubt again took hold of the populace in the times of the Reformation, every branch of the Church in the West set forth a confession of its faith. They all differ from primitive creeds, in that they aim at completeness. They are most valuable expositions of doctrine, but any confession that tries to deal with all the different subjects of Christian doctrine necessarily abdicates a rightful claim to universality and permanence. It is just about subjects of which we can by reason know least that the Church may be most dogmatic, for there it appeals to revelation. The three creeds which we have mentioned claim to be necessary deductions from the revelation of God in Christ. Their aim is to preserve the revelation of the Father through the Son, and belief in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. It is true that as we learn more about ourselves and the world, our ideas of God undergo some change, but there is room for that in the creeds; and, likewise, we may advance in our thoughts of what a person is. The fact that none of the Œcumenical Creeds state that God is Love shows their limits. But when we deal with the doctrines of Sin and Grace, of the Church and Sacraments, we have to express ourselves in a different manner, we find different types of theology based in differences of experience, we know that the real advances in knowledge through the growth of Anthropology, Biology, and other natural sciences, has been very great, and we may expect wonderful revelations of truth outside the domain of theology proper or the doctrine of God which, however, must react in the upward looking of man to God. The confessions of the sixteenth century grow out of date for this reason, whilst the doctrine of God taught in the three Creeds, being based in the revelation of Christ and the primary experiences of a Christian life, is of a lasting character. Every great revival of religion in the Christian world has confirmed it.

H. D. LOCKETT.

SUMMER CAMPS FOR CITY BOYS.

There is a pretty story of a Bavarian schoolmaster who was observed to stand at the door of his school each day, hat-in-hand, as his boys filed out after their work was done. In reply to the curious question of one who asked the reason for this singular behaviour he replied, How do I know what heroes or martyrs are walking out before me? One of the distinguishing features of the philanthropic enterprise of our day is this veneration for the boy and the efforts which are made to assist him. Silently and without ostentation, down in the heart of our great cities the problem of the outcast lad is being faced by unselfish and oftentimes extremely capable men. Nor is it only among the destitute that the work is done, for a constant attempt is made to raise the ideals of the ordinary working boy, and bring fresh interests and new aspirations to cheer the monotonous lot of those whose day is spent in the factory, and whose playground is the dingy street.

Among the many directions into which this desire to develop the better nature of city boys has led the enthusiasm of the workers, none is more interesting, and none yields better results than that which provides for them the benefit of a week by the sea. It is not always poverty which prevents the working boy from enjoying a holiday; more often ignorance of the pleasure and profit of a change, and a certain lack of initiative, keeps them at home. And where many a boy could pay his share if he was one of a well organised camp which could command the best terms for all the expenses that arise, he would be totally unable to form plans for his own holiday, or to supply the increased funds which individual effort always involves.

If we are to reckon up the benefits of a summer camp as far as the boys are concerned, we shall naturally think first of

that which is most obvious, the gain in physical health. Not perhaps so apparent, but none the less real and perhaps more lasting, is the memory of the inspiring scenes which are all so new to the town-bred boy, and the thought of the week when the struggle for existence seemed for a while to be set on one side, will often arise as a fair image in his mind. And must not the fact that all this beauty is linked by the too little recognised laws of association with an atmosphere more pure, more moral, more spiritual, than it is his lot to breathe in his city life, act as a powerful formulative influence for his highest good? Who shall say that the decrease in the drink consumption, which the recently published Budget reveals, is not in some measure due to the constant repetition of these camps, which have given to the boys of succeeding generations tastes which can find no satisfaction in the sordid atmosphere of the nearest public house?

But it would be as false as it is presumptuous to suppose that the lads alone have all to learn and all to gain; the officers have their share. In the lessons of cheerfulness which they may learn from those under their charge, and in the general study of boy nature and boy humour for which this close companionship affords a unique occasion, no less than in the opportunities which present themselves for experience in organization and command, they will profit in no little degree from their week's work.

To say that camps must be worked on lines differing widely according to their size, and according to the circumstances and ages of the boys, is merely to state an obvious fact. At the same time, one camp is to a certain extent a model for all, and without further apology we shall proceed to outline some of the main features which, to a greater or a less degree, will be common to each.

The Workers.—It is a first principle of great importance that those who undertake a boys' camp, and the men whom they associate with themselves in its conduct, should be inspired by a single aim, and that the success of the camp and the happiness

and welfare of the lads should always be their ruling motive. Personal pleasure must be a secondary consideration, and the time of each worker should be altogether at the disposal of the camp. If officers absent themselves and neglect their duties, their conduct has a disastrous effect, directly in throwing the organisation out of gear, and indirectly in producing a bad moral impression on the boys. Voluntary workers, if they are chosen with care, are found to give far better results than paid labour, and even a camp of 500 or 600 boys can be run smoothly and efficiently without a single paid official. The officers should live simply and, although taking their meals and sleeping apart, should have accommodation and food as much like the boys as possible. If this is done there should be no difficulty, when provision has to be made for not less than 10 officers, in covering all expenses, exclusive of railway fares, by a levy of 2s. 6d. a day upon each individual.

For a small camp of 50—100 boys, five officers will be able undertake the whole management. One of these should assume the supreme control, and must have his attention quite undisturbed by detail duties. With him rests the general supervision of the camp, and it is his business to see that every boy is occupied and every officer fulfils his allotted task. The second officer, or adjutant, must undertake the charge of the boys and the tents. He must see that every boy arises at the fixed hour and assembles for camp inspection; he must enquire whether the tents are comfortable, and keep a careful watch on the health of the boys under his control. All these duties ought, if possible, to be performed before breakfast, that the rest of the day may be spent in the organisation of games, bathing-parade, picnics, and all the other forms of occupation which are designed to keep the boys' time fully employed: loitering or idleness among the lads is fatal to the success of a camp. The adjutant's duties only cease when he sees that all the lights are out at night.

Next to the adjutant comes the quartermaster, whose task is more arduous than it sounds. He is responsible for the

meals, and must see that they are well cooked and punctually served. It will probably be found necessary for two men to share the duties of this post, for the work and the anxiety which attach to it are generally beyond the powers or the endurance of one. To the fifth officer is entrusted the control of the canteen and the superintendence of the penny bank. As the camp increases in size, the officers' duties may be lightened by the appointment of orderlies, who can assist in the superintendence of the boys on duty in preparing meals and cleansing the camp.

Selection of Boys.—It will be unwise, in a large camp at any rate, to have boys of very mixed ages. It is quite obvious that small boys under 13 will need a much stricter rule with regard to leaving the camp grounds, than those who are over that age and to whom it is generally found wise to grant perfect liberty when their duties are done. In no case must a boy be accepted for camp until he has paid his fee, and it is often advisable to make a certain number of attendances at educational classes during the winter months a condition of selection. Boys value what they pay for, and what they earn. The factors determining the cost of the boys' keep are many, and to give a price which will meet every case is, of course, impossible, but it has been found practicable in a moderate sized camp to supply the boys with every necessity, and many comforts, for 10s. 6d. a week, exclusive of railway fares. Out of this, the boys on an average pay 7s. 6d.

Arrangements must be made for a doctor to come down some evening and examine all the boys to see if they are physically fit for the novel kind of life upon which they are about to enter, and to certify that they are free from infectious disease. It is also a wise precaution to enlist the services of a dentist to supplement the medical examination, for much trouble may arise from toothache in boys who are pre-disposed to it.

Accommodation.—For small or experimental camps, or for those which are likely to be only a temporary enterprise, it will

perhaps be found more convenient and more economical to hire, or get the loan of, an empty cottage or schoolroom. But, if the funds will permit, it is certainly cleaner and more healthy and attractive to have a supply of bell tents for the sleeping accommodation, and a marquee with tables and forms for meals. A bell tent of the regulation size is 13 ft. 6 in. in diameter and will comfortably hold 12 boys, whereas 14 or even 16 can sleep in it if necessity requires. It will cost about £2 17s. The boys sleep with their feet to the pole, and they should be warned on no account to touch the canvas when the weather is wet. Tent floors should in all cases be provided for the sleeping tents as they are far healthier than the waterproof sheeting which is generally used. They can easily be made by the officers, and the materials for their construction will cost about 22s. for each tent. A simple but comfortable bed can be made by stuffing a calico bag (7 ft. × 3 ft.) with sweet dry straw, and every boy ought to have two blankets, which can be bought for 3s. 8d. each. In the case of a small camp it will often be possible for the boys to bring their own rugs or coverings. A marquee to hold tables and forms for 100 boys will cost £24, and one with accommodation for 500, £76. The tents may be lighted by a candle in a rough lantern, but the marquee should have oil lamps suspended from arms attached to the masts.

All the articles mentioned above can be hired at about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 10 per cent. of their cost price and in many cases it is found wise to take advantage of this fact when capital is lacking, or storage room is difficult to procure. There are perhaps two final words of warning which we ought not to omit. Do not let the boys sleep in a marquee, for it is always cold and draughty; and shun second-hand tents, for they are generally those which have been discarded from the army on account of serious deficiencies.

Choice of a Site.—The value of a beautiful site is far greater than might at first be supposed, for attractive surroundings will make a deep impression on a boy's mind. But there are some

less romantic, though not less important, needs which require close attention if success is to wait upon the camp, and the first of them is a dry, sandy, or gravel soil. A few hours' rain will make clay ground unbearable. Another need is an abundant water supply, which if possible should be led on to the field and right into the cooking area. Again a hilly or lumpy ground is a disadvantage which is only realised during the effort to pitch the tents. Finally, whenever it is found practicable, it is well to have a field sufficiently large to enable several games of cricket or football to be played at once.

Disposition of the Field.—The tents require to be numbered and pitched in consecutive order, forming one or two rows according to the size of the camp, and all facing a hollow square, at one end of which the boys' marquee should stand. The officers' tents lie apart from the main camp, and are so located that they may command a good view of the whole field. In the larger camps an extra tent, fitted up with indoor games and a small library, will be found a most useful addition for wet days. A canteen tent is not only a useful, but may, if properly worked, be a most profitable investment for a camp, and can easily be so managed that it will yield 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. on the turnover. For hospital purposes always keep an extra bell tent in reserve.

Arrangements before Camp.—All payments should be made two days before the camp begins, and each boy must be instructed to bring a knife, fork, and spoon, also a towel, and where it is possible an overcoat and bathing drawers. For all of these articles he is to be personally responsible during his stay in camp. Arrangements with the railway company must not be left until the last minute, and, for numbers over 30, the fares can usually be arranged on the following scale:—Small boys under 13 will be charged half the ordinary single fare for the return journey, whereas boys over that age will be required to pay the day excursion fare. The ordinary single fare will purchase a return ticket for the officers. One or two days before the boys are due to arrive a fatigue party must be hard

at work, pitching the tents and the marquee, building the kitchen fires, arranging the water supply and ordering the fresh provisions which will be needed as soon as the camp begins.

Provisioning.—The standard of food will depend upon the funds at the camp's disposal, and the following remarks are merely suggestive. White or brown bread and butter with jam or fresh fruit will provide a capital breakfast, and every two or three days an egg may be added as a special luxury. Tea will always be preferred to coffee. It is dinner which taxes most severely the culinary arrangements of camp, and for a large number of boys hot joints will be found quite impracticable. Potatoes and cold meat or tinned beef may take its place, and Irish stew will always be popular. The selection of butcher's meat is a matter for the exercise of considerable care, and in large camps it is better and cheaper to go to the wholesale market and purchase a fore or hind quarter at the wholesale price, which is generally about $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. a lb. Of plain Christmas puddings, made and partially cooked at home, and heated up in camp, the boys will never tire, but by way of variety the cook may supply them with cheese, jam, bananas or tomatoes on special days. For tea, bread and butter and cake will be adequate, and cocoa and biscuits make a good meal for the last thing before turning in. Many of the provisions may be purchased at wholesale prices at home, but bread, milk, potatoes and coal had better be procured on the spot.

Boys' Orderly Duty.—In every camp each tent of boys ought to be trained to take its turn on orderly duty, which means that it must supply the labour required to assist in the preparation of the meals, and in the washing up which these involve; they must help to clean the tables of the marquee and to gather up all fragments of food that may remain. Too great importance cannot be attached to this sanitary precaution, for if it is neglected the atmosphere of the marquee will soon become unfit to breathe. Finally guards should be selected in rotation from among the boys

to act under the direction of an officer in the protection of the camp at night. This precaution is rendered necessary owing to the attraction which a camp fire possesses for the passing tramp.

General.—The boys, as we have already remarked, must have their time fully occupied, and that this may be done it will be necessary to organize a variety of games and excursions. Cricket, football, sports, bathing, picnics and concerts, will be only a few of the many devices by which ingenuity will contrive to fill every moment with some wholesome activity.

To speak of the religious aspect of camp life is not easy, but if we say little about it, this is by no means because we think it an insignificant feature. We should certainly say that it is of primary importance. And yet the forms that it will take must be moulded according to the judgment of each organizer. We would only suggest that prayers night and morning, if properly conducted, are enjoyed by the boys. They can be short and bright without any sacrifice of reverence and dignity. A hymn adds to the pleasure of the little service, and the address, if there be one at all, should be short and full of point.

H. J.

ADDITIONAL FACTS REGARDING THE SUN AND MOON.

In my former paper, entitled *Peculiarities of Gender*, I find, in the honourable place assigned by them to woman, an explanation of the curious coincidence that the early Semites and Germans agree in speaking of the sun as feminine and the moon masculine. Wider research has revealed some interesting facts which partly confirm and partly modify this theory, and which if carefully considered may furnish important materials for useful reflection. Thus :—

(1.) To a nation of astronomers like the Chaldeans it was most natural to make the moon and stars the principal objects of worship, and to endeavour to trace the occult influence supposed to be exercised by these over the events and experiences of human life. With the aid of the Minæan inscriptions Hommel has proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that primitive Semitic religion consisted almost exclusively of moon and star worship, the moon god and another, probably meant to represent the morning and evening star, standing at the head of the pantheon, while the sun goddess was attached to them as daughter or wife. That the moon existed before the sun is an idea which underlay the religious belief of Accad, an illustration of which we have in the fifth Creation tablet, where the order is reversed from that of Genesis, the Babylonian order being the stars, moon, and sun, instead of the sun, moon, and stars. This belief could have arisen only where the Moon-god was the supreme object of worship; yet viewed from an astronomical standpoint it is not unnatural, the sun being regarded as issuing from the darkness of the night. Nor is this view peculiar to astronomers. ‘It is not the sun,’ says Spiegel, ‘that first attracted the attention of the savage by its light. . . Among the heavenly bodies it is the moon that first absorbs the sight.’ A similar remark may without hesitation be made

regarding the ancient Babylonians. In the later Assyrian Empire the moon's prevailing pre-eminence gradually ceased; but in Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham's birthplace and the centre of moon-worship, and in Harran to which he removed and where also was a famous temple to Sin, the moon-god, this form of worship retained its supremacy. Nor is it wonderful that it should do so among a pastoral or even an agricultural people. We read in Joseph's blessing (Deut. xxxiii. 14) of the precious fruits brought forth by the sun and the precious things thrust (marg.) forth by the moon; and where flocks and herds are to be tended, either in fertile or desert places, the phenomena of the nocturnal sky naturally and necessarily possess a great and unfailing interest. In the first chapter of Genesis we are told that 'God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also.' For reasons already mentioned, this comparison of these two great lights must ever convey to the Oriental mind a somewhat different impression from that which it conveys to ours. Thanks to his poetic imagination, as well as to his German and Oriental nature, Heine was able to assign to these grand luminaries of the night and day their proper place in nature and in mythology. Thus he tells us

- 'That the sun was only a lovely woman, whom the old sea-god
out of convenience married :
- 'All the day long she joyously wandered in the high heavens,
- 'Decked out with purple and glittering diamonds,
- 'And all-beloved and all-admired by every mortal creature ;
- 'And every mortal creature rejoiced in her sweet glances, light,
and warmth.
- 'But in the evening, impelled, all disconsolate returneth she
home
- 'To the moist house and desert arms of her greyheaded spouse.'

(2.) While it is no easy task to harmonise and identify the various deities of Chaldea we should never allow ourselves to forget that up to the last the Babylonian religion remained conspicuously local, each province or city or village having its own deity and its own form of worship. Thus the Moon-God

was generally known as Sin, but in Ur he was worshipped as Nannar, and in other places by other names.

(3.) In prosecuting our studies still farther into the relation between the Semitic and the earlier Accadian deities a gradual transformation of sex becomes noticeable, which is largely due to the widely different conception of social life entertained at different periods of the world's history. Thus in the bilingual texts we find that in the Accadian original the female is always mentioned before the male, while the Semitic translation is careful to reverse this order. Besides, some deities appear to be androgynous, possessing the characteristics of both sexes at one and the same time, or alternately according to situation and function and other circumstances. Thus, the Sun-god is addressed as the Lord, the illuminator of darkness, while in one hymn we read 'like a wife thou behavest thyself cheerfully and rejoicingly, yea thou art their light in the vault of the far off sky!' The monosyllable 'Nin,' whose primary meaning is the great one and which occurs in the word Nineveh, signifies at once both 'lord' and 'lady,' and is frequently applied indiscriminately to deities of both sexes. Samas, the Sun-god, is also addressed as the mistress of the world, while Tammuz, for whose recovery Ishtar descends into Hades, is the young and beautiful husband, who was slain by the cruel hand of night and winter. In the mythological poem recounting her descent into Hades, Ishtar is described as the daughter of Sin, the Moon-god, while Tammuz in whose honour Ezekiel saw the women of Jerusalem weeping at the gate of the Temple (viii. 14) is obviously the same as the Adonis of Greek mythology, and the Hadad-Rimmon of Zechariah xii. 11, for whom year by year much bitter lamentation was made in the valley of Megiddo.

(4.) It now remains only to be mentioned that the once widely accepted theory of the identity of Baal and Ashtoreth, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, with the sun and moon has now been definitely abandoned. The word Baal, which is common to all the Semitic languages, primarily

signifies an owner or possessor, and in a secondary sense a husband. Used in a religious sense, it means the Divine owner or possessor of a certain district, to whose power and favour its fertility is mainly due. Hence in the Old Testament not only is the worship of Baal distinguished from that of the sun (II. Kings xxiii. 5) but we frequently meet with the plural form *Baalim* or the Baals, which should be interpreted not of the multitude of idols but of originally distinct local deities. The Baals of different places were doubtless diverse in character, but in general they were regarded as the authors of material prosperity, to whom the fertility of the soil and the increase of the flocks were due. A similar remark may be made regarding Ashtoreth, which until recently it was customary to associate with the moon, but which more probably should be viewed as a personification of the all-pervading living force of nature. It is important to observe that both genders are occasionally employed in speaking of Baal and Ashtoreth. Thus Baal, though generally masculine, appears occasionally as a female deity (cf. Rom: xi. 4) while Ashtoreth was worshipped in Babylon and Assyria as Ishtar (*fem.*) and in Southern Arabia as Athtar (*masc.*). (C.f. Dr. Driver's article on Ashtoreth in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*.) The subject is one of peculiar difficulty and obscurity: but, even when *we* think of God, do we never feel how necessary it is to combine both sides of human nature, if we would obtain an accurate, however as yet inadequate, conception of all that He is to us? Like as a father pitieth his children, the Lord pitieth them that fear Him; and as one, whom his mother comforteth, so has He promised to comfort us. This is the glory of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour, that in Him the manly and womanly sides of character divinely meet; and just in proportion as we recognise and adore these in Him shall we be able to attain to all that is brave and true and wise, and at the same time all that is tender and devout and pure.

W. H. CARSLAW.

MONTHLY STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ST. MARK.—(Continued.)

The Cure of the Paralytic and the Charge of Blasphemy (ii. 1-12).

In a crowded room the paralytic was healed. It might seem as if our Lord's action on this occasion was not in keeping with that reticence to perform miracles of which we have already spoken at some length. But there is nothing here which really contradicts our former remarks. In this instance Jesus' authority is called in question and He asserts it by the speedy cure, and uses the occasion to teach the wide-reaching truth that on earth He has power to forgive the sins of men, and remove the ill-effects which those sins have involved. It was a great power which He claimed and His subsequent life, like His present act, proved that His assumption was no idle one.

In striking contrast to the friendly excitement of the simple peasantry stood the sullen suspicions of the Scribes. They were annoyed to see the popularity of One who lacked the external signs and honours of authority which the formalist always holds so dear. The breach which at first was small was destined soon to grow, and the disregard of custom in the call of Levi, and the new and disturbing teaching on fasting and Sabbath observance were destined ultimately to bring to an end the mission in Galilee.

It has often been said that faith effects a cure simply by the unusually powerful action of a man's mind upon the nervous organization of his body. This assertion finds no support in the narrative of the restored paralytic. It was not the faith of the man alone which in this case made possible his recovery: it was to the faith of his friends that he owed his cure.

The Call of Levi and the Charge of Friendship with Sinners
(13-17).

The clouds of opposition, which began to gather when the charge of blasphemy was levelled against Jesus, grew darker as His enemies became more alert in their search for some further accusation which would give them excuse for summary punishment. The opportunity for complaint arose when Jesus, surrounded by a gathering multitude who listened to His teaching, was walking towards the shore of the lake. By the roadside He passed a toll house, near to which sat Levi the toll collector. Jesus had for some considerable time been preaching and teaching in this neighbourhood, and Levi had doubtless often heard His words, and carefully considered His claims. The command 'Follow Me,' which sounds abrupt to us, would be the climax up to which Levi had been steadily led.

This attention shown to one of the despised toll collectors did not pass unnoticed by the Scribes. It needed only Jesus' subsequent entertainment in His house of a large gathering of publicans and notorious sinners to call from His enemies the open and angry exclamation, 'He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners.' Jesus heard the challenge, and in His answer He met His critics on their own ground. Assuming that they were righteous and that the guests whom He had chosen to entertain were sinners, then in His capacity as physician He was in His right place, for the physician should be where his skill is most required. But the assumption of the Scribes was unfounded; they no less but rather more than the toll collectors were extortionate; under the fair cloak of religion they robbed widow's houses, and for a pretence made long prayers. Until they felt and acknowledged their need of a physician the Lord's place was among the sinners who confessed the misery and wickedness of their condition, and who longed for better things.

As almost the same story is told of Matthew in Mat. ix. 9, we are justified in supposing that Levi and Matthew were two names for the same person.

The recurrence of the pronouns αὐτὸν . . . αὐτοῦ in the sentence 'He was sitting at meat in His house,' force us to the belief that Jesus' house is the one referred to. Matthew bears this out, but Luke speaks of a feast which was given by Levi.

Capernaum lay on the borders of Herod's territory and would be an important customs station.

The Disregarded Fast and the Charge of ignoring Ascetic Formalism (18-22).

John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees were scrupulous in their fasts, but the motive in either case was not the same. The Pharisees observed a self-righteous fast, one which would reflect glory on the rigid observer, but John's was an ascetic fast, designed to bring the body under its owner's control. Jesus in His reply points His words with beautiful but homely analogies. He first attacks the Pharisaic position in its particular application to the present case by showing the unfitness of a fast when there was no sorrow at the heart, and then He turns to the broader principle and unfolds the contrast between the spirit of the old order and the new. He first leads their thoughts to a joyous wedding festival and makes them see that fasting in His disciples, while He Himself is near, would be no less incongruous than mourning among the friend attendants of the bridegroom on his wedding day. From this illustration He would have them learn that fasting must be regulated not by times and seasons, but by fitness. It must be the expression of feeling. It would be meet for His disciples to fast when He had departed from their midst and their hearts were weighed down with grief.

In the two final analogies, however, Jesus goes deeper, and shows the essential difference between the old religion and the new. The new and undressed cloth stretches and tears the old unyielding material into which it may be patched, just as the new wine whose pressure increases as its fermentation begins, bursts the old skin bottles which have lost their elasticity and strength with age. So the new teaching of Christianity, which regulates action by principles, cannot

tolerate the fetters of the old system whose morality was a matter of rule and ordinance.

In the first of these analogies we get the earliest hint of Jesus' departure, and the occasion of its utterance might well cause Him to anticipate the end. The suspicions of the ruling religious body had been aroused by His claim to forgive sins on earth and by His feast to the publicans. Jesus had measured their hostility, and He perceived that in His words He was striking an unpardonable blow at the legal system, and the inevitable result He foretold in the words 'But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away.'

Plucking the Ears of Corn and the charge of Profaning the Sabbath.
(23-28.)

For the fourth time Jesus' attitude was challenged by the opposing Pharisees. The act of plucking and eating the ears of corn was in itself permitted by Jewish custom, but to do this on the Sabbath day violated one of those nice distinctions between things lawful and things profane which Pharisaic ingenuity loved to devise.

Our Lord met their attack in two ways. In the first place He showed that the disciples were only following in the steps of David, whom they all professed to respect, and whose action formed a powerful precedent which might well be held to sanction theirs. He then proceeded to unfold the nature and function of the law, and the limits by which it is circumscribed. The foundations of the moral law, it is true, were made sure before the creation of man, and its observance may not be ignored by him. But they must distinguish the law of the Sabbath from the moral law, inasmuch as the former was ordained after man's advent, and for man's use. Its function was to serve man, and where it menaced man's welfare, or brought him into a bondage for which he was not made, it outsteps the limits of its authority and man is at liberty to disregard its dictates.

David's act is here described as taking place during the high-priesthood of Abiathar. In I. Sam. xxi. we are told that Abimelech was high-priest. It is useless to try and evade the difficulty by supposing that the verse merely means during the life of Abiathar, for the mention of

the sacred office has a special significance in this connection. And indeed, the language would not allow of this supposition. Discrepancies of this minor nature frequently occur. They need be no cause for uneasiness. To maintain that the inspired page of Scripture could not contain such discrepancies is to lay ourselves open to the rude shock of facts. To declare that if they are admitted to be discrepancies our Gospels are robbed of their authority is to take up a more unwarrantable position still. Frankly to acknowledge them as they arise, and to allow them a place in our conception of Inspiration, is surely the only honest and the only possible course.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NEW SAYING OF JESUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE INTERPRETER.'

Sir,—Dr. Lock's able exposition of the Second Saying in the last collection of the Oxyrhyncus papyri (in the *January* number) seems to discredit somewhat unnecessarily its final clause: '*ye are in the city of God, and ye are the city.*'

To say that the phrase has 'no analogy in the Gospels' is surely to overlook Matt. v., 14: 'Ye are the light of the world. *A city set on a hill cannot be hid.*' Is it not possible that this short parable, having due regard to the context in which it was uttered, contains a germ of which the saying may be legitimately regarded as an expansion in thought? The 'many mansions' of John xiv. contain at least a cognate idea.

Then again, Dr. Lock says the phrase 'goes beyond the language of the Epistles.' But St. Paul on several occasions makes excellent literary use of the current ideas of 'citizenship' to define Christian relations (Cp. 'aliens . . . made nigh,' Eph. ii, 12; iv., 18; Col. i. 21) and in Phil. iii. 20, speaks of 'our citizenship in heaven.' The writer to the Hebrews refers to our 'city which hath the foundations' which God 'hath prepared.'

To pass beyond the limits of Gospels and Epistles imposed by Dr. Lock, does not the author of the Apocalypse simply develop this very thought on a scale so vast that it demands eternity for a background? Would it be unreasonable or undesirable to find that the seed-thought of this mighty Epic of the City of God lay potentially in a pregnant phrase of the Great Teacher Himself?

I am,

Yours faithfully,

G. R. HOLT SHAFTO.

REVIEWS.

The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia. By W. H. RAMSAY, D.C.L.¹ 'Archæology,' says Canon Driver, 'has given us an atmosphere and a background for the stories of Genesis: it is unable to recall or certify their heroes.' Professor Ramsay's learned and interesting volume has recalled this sentence to our minds. Its contents, giving us the history of the Græco-Asiatic Cities, their growth, their decay, their social systems, their relationship to the Imperial City, furnish us with an excellent archæological background for the study of the Letters contained in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse; but they do not help us much to understand the mind of a mystic like St. John the Apostle. In his preceding volumes—*The Church in the Roman Empire*, and *Paul the Traveller*—the thorough knowledge of the policy of the Roman Emperors in the first and second centuries, and of the natural features and social conditions of Greece and Western Asia, made the former a real boon to the student and the latter one of the best Commentaries on the Acts. In this volume, unfortunately, they have mislead him into a theory that the Seven Letters are an early attempt at an Eirenicon between the Greek and Judaic elements in the Church. 'The Judaic element in the "Apocalypse,"' he says, 'has been hitherto studied to the entire neglect of the Greek element in it. Hence it has been the most misunderstood book in the New Testament.' We are quite in accord with the Professor as to the necessity of taking into account the Greek element both in the early Church and in the New Testament: did not Dr. Hatch, of whose Bampton Lectures on The Organisation of the Christian Churches the late Lord Acton spoke words of the highest praise, teach us that? And of the Greek Philosophers it is perfectly true that

'Every thought of all their thinking swayed the world for good or ill,
Every pulse of all their life-blood beats across the ages still'

but the Apocalypse is not the book in which it can be found. So far as St. John considered Greek thought at all, he both feared it, and disliked it. St. John was a mystic; intensely Jewish; taught indeed to know that Judaism was fulfilled in Christ, and to see the world around him *sub specie æternitatis*; but still a Jew whose mind was filled with Jewish Prophecy and Jewish Apocalypse—a Jewish Seer whose visions were as those in Daniel and Zechariah, in Enoch, and in Baruch; a Jewish Teacher, who could apply their lessons to time,

¹ *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, and their place in the Plan of the Apocalypse.* By W. H. Ramsay, D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. 12s. (London: Hodder & Stoughton.)

altered indeed as regards details, but in essence the same; and who is now adapting the imagery which they had used for the history of the chosen people, to depict the present and future fate of the Christian Church. As St. James is the last of the Jewish Prophets—simply Amos Christianised; so St. John is the last of the Seers. But he is the last of the Jewish Seers; St. Paul might indeed when at Tarsus have read Greek Philosophy, the Myths of Plato, and possibly Greek drama too—his speech at Athens shows almost certainly that he had, and into his Epistles some Greek elements certainly enter; but we feel confident that St. John, the Galilean Fisherman, the exile in Patmos, read no Greek literature; and we feel equally confident that those who follow Professor Ramsay's lead, and attempt to discover Hellenism rather than Hebraism, or even Hellenism with Hebraism, in the Apocalypse, will end by misunderstanding still more what he calls this 'most misunderstood book.'

The visions of the Seer were seen before the 'rescripts' to the Churches were written; so Professor Ramsay thinks. They, he admits, follow, mainly at any rate, Hebrew literary models: but the 'rescripts' 'were written to be understood by the Asian congregations which mainly consisted of converted pagans.' Considering that a vision of 'one like unto a Son of Man' precedes, and stands in the closest possible connection with, the Letters, we feel that such distinction between the Letters and all that follows them, is rather arbitrary; however, let that pass. But 'pagan' is a vague word, one that may be used in more senses than one; Professor Ramsay uses it mainly to signify the State religion, the Imperial cult. Is it not possible to overestimate the importance of this? No doubt on State occasions, when Functions and Ceremonial observances had to be performed, the Worship of the Emperor might be very awkward for the Christian soldier or the Christian official. But it must have mattered very little in ordinary social life, especially to those from whose ranks came most of the converts to Christianity. Imperial worship was purely formal; nobody pretended really to believe it, any more than Churchmen really believed George IV. was 'most religious and gracious.' Professor Dill in a more bulky, but not one whit less interesting or less valuable, volume than Professor Ramsay's has told us what was the real 'religion' of Roman Society in the days of Nero. It is true, he refers principally to Rome, but social life and religion would not be materially different in the provincial towns, any more than, in the present day, social life in Liverpool or Manchester differs from social life in London. Now, what was that religion? The philosophy of the great majority was then as it still is, Hedonism; the pleasure being often of the vilest and coarsest description. The real religion was either Stoicism and Neo-Platonism

as taught by Seneca, Epictetus, and Plutarch; or the Mysteries—either the Eleusinian or of Egyptian importation—or else Mithraism; of which Professor Dill gives a most interesting account, showing how widespread and how dangerous it was; as in the next century the Apologists also showed, by their calling it a Satanic parody of Christianity. The Imperial cult was not the only opponent of the rising Christian Church; nor were the converts exclusively pagan. St. Peter wrote to the ‘Elect sojourners of the Dispersion,’ dwellers in much the same district; and some, at any rate, of them were converts from Judaism.

But the extent to which Professor Ramsay has been misled by Geography and Archæology into a mistaken theory as to the proper way of understanding the Apocalypse, will best be shown by a comparison with another ‘rescript,’—another circular letter,—sent not very many years earlier, and to Churches situated in a district not very different; we mean, of course, the Epistle to the Ephesians. A comparison between the two is most instructive, both as regards their likenesses, and their differences. Both teach, with trifling differences of manner, the same Christology. Both teach that the true unity for all mankind is to be sought and found in the Lordship of Christ. Both teach their readers to ‘think Imperially,’ as we should say in the present day. Both look on the Christian as a warrior, and a victorious warrior; and both see that the combat is with spiritual forces, not with flesh and blood. And both insist on Christian ethics,—conduct based on Creed. So far in essentials, there is absolute agreement; but when we come to methods there is complete difference. The Pauline Christology is at any rate free from Jewish metaphor: the Apocalyptic imagery of ‘one like unto a Son of Man’ is wholly Judaic, being almost entirely drawn from Daniel or Zechariah. Before there can be unity St. Paul speaks of ‘breaking down the middle wall of partition’—what would ‘pagans’ understand by that?—while on the other hand St. John twice, in effect, claims for the Christian that *he* is the true Jew; the ‘Synagogue of Satan’ have no claim to the time-honoured name. St. Paul teaches Imperialism, but his five times repeated *ἐν τοῖς ἐσθραβίοις* contains more affinity of idea to the Republic, and indeed to Platonism in general:—more, that is, of the Greek element than can be found in the whole of the Johannine literature. St. John also is Imperial; but his *πολίτευμα* is a ‘New Jerusalem’ described as certainly, by imagery taken from Deutero-Isaiah, as the warnings and encouragements to the representative Churches are from Jewish Prophecy or Jewish Apocalypse. Much of this Professor Ramsay would doubtless admit: he does not, of course, deny the Judaic element; but the theory has to be maintained, the Greek element must be shown to be there, and so by the aid of much

extremely interesting archæology, and many illustrations both of local scenery and of Greek coins, he finds explanations for symbols and metaphors which do indeed contain the Greek element, but are often very far fetched. In the 'new name' for instance, promised to those who at Pergamum were victorious, he sees an allusion to the Imperial title Augustus, and quotes Ovid; but he ignores altogether Psalm lxxxvii., and Isaiah xliv. 5, both of which St. John had certainly read, though we are dubious as regards Ovid. So again, he admits that 'the Tree of Life' is taken from Jewish sources: whether from Genesis or Enoch he does not say—we may remark, parenthetically, that the Book of Enoch, Professor Charles' edition of which ought alone to be sufficient to show Professor Ramsay how mistaken is his theory, is never once mentioned—but the admission is spoilt by the suggestion that 'the Tree of Life in the Revelation was in the mind of the Ephesians a Christianization of the sacred tree in the pagan religion and folk lore; it was a symbolic expression which was full of meaning to the Asian Christians, because to them the tree had always been the seat of Divine life and the intermediary between Divine and human nature.' The St. John of whom the legend is that he fled from a bath, because Cerinthus was under the same roof, would, we are confident, have energetically rejected any such idea.

And the Pauline and the Johannine circular letter both laid, as we have said, great stress on Christian ethics. And here Professor Ramsay's theory becomes very difficult to manage, because he knows quite well that ethical laxity, and a tendency to compromise with the world was the danger of the Greek element. It is impossible to deny the Judaic element in the ethical commands to the Churches; it is Hebraism of the sternest character; the Hebraism that vexed Mr. Matthew Arnold; Hebraism such as only appears again in the First General Epistle of St. John, a document which Professor Ramsay does not mention. The impressive command in that Epistle: 'Love not the world neither the things that are in the world,' is really a summary of many of the messages to the Churches; only it becomes more impressive by the quieter and more solemn tone that has come over the Apostle with increased age. The difficulty of the theory is indeed so great, that as regards the Nicolaitans and the woman Jezebel, Professor Ramsay becomes almost contradictory, and once inexact; for he says St. John 'almost loved the Ephesians because they almost hated the Nicolaitans.' It was τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν that St. John and the Ephesians hated—not the same thing. He sees how fatal any compromise with Paganism—which he, rightly, thinks was the 'work' of the Nicolaitans—would have been to the Church: he sees that 'an easy going Christianity could never have survived, and would not have conquered'; but on

the same page he writes that 'the historian must regard the Nicolaitans with intense interest, and must regret deeply that we know so little about them, and that only from their enemies.' The only 'Enemy' who has told us anything of them is the Apostle. And it is strange to be told of the woman Jezebel that she 'was evidently an active and managing lady after the style of Lydia,' and that 'the question might even suggest itself whether they may not be the same person.' The question, we are glad to say, is answered immediately in the negative; but it would have been better left unasked.

We are sorry that a very learned and very interesting volume should have been dominated by a mistaken theory. We thank Professor Ramsay heartily; but we wait for Professor Swete and also for Professor Charles, both of whom have promised Commentaries.

Some Thoughts on the Incarnation.¹ By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. Those who have had the good fortune to read the Dean of Westminster's small volume on the Gospels will well understand what we mean when we say that he is possessed of unusual ability in presenting his views with forcible terseness and convincing clearness. In this particular little book he faces fairly the fact that a great number of thoughtful men are sadly perplexed in their thoughts about the Incarnation, which they consider to be bound up with the precise method in which it began. He also faces the scientific attitude of mind which stumbles at the physiological fact of a virgin birth because it sees no moral necessity for such. And finally he recognises the literary difficulty that St. Paul and St. John, who have taught us most concerning the doctrine of the Incarnation, do not directly refer to the miracle of the Birth.

This is a wise recognition, because a true one, and the difficulty is met by a method no less wise when it is urged that men should face the problem in its right order. The incident of the Virgin Birth must be approached through the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the two must not be confounded. Men should first consider the Incarnation itself, and then, and not till then, consider its mode.

Dr. Robinson presents in a forcible manner some reasons for our belief in the fact of the Incarnation. He asks how we can account for the realistic and sublime picture in St. Mark, our earliest evangelic narrative, unless we accept the Church's doctrine of the Incarnation. He asks 'If indeed the Son of God "came down from heaven and was made Man" can we conceive that His Incarnate Life could have been other than this which is here described?' Finally,

¹ *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation.* By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 6d. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

and in its right order, the Dean faces the question of the Virgin birth, and he shows that to deny the miracle leaves us face to face with a serious literary problem in the early narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and the more serious practical problem that the Church should have been permitted, from the second century, to repeat her belief in what was untrue at every baptism where the baptismal Creed was said.

The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.¹ This volume which owes its origin to the labours of a Committee appointed by the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, will form a valuable addition to the library of those who require to know what traces of dependence on the New Testament Scriptures may be discovered in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. The work has been distributed among various writers of high repute for their scholarship, whose names will be sufficient guarantee for the care with which the volume has been prepared. The work of each is so arranged that the reader can see at a glance with what degree of probability we may assert that a particular Father was dependent upon a particular part of the New Testament. Doubtless there will be much dissent from the judgment of the various members of the Committee; it could hardly be otherwise in a work of this description; but the value of the work will be undenied. The following is a list of the Committee, in which is indicated the particular work for which each member is responsible.

Barnabas: J. V. BARTLET, M.A., D.D.	Ignatius: W. R. INGE, M.A.
Didache: K. LAKE, M.A.	Polycarp: P. V. M. BENECKE, M.A.
I. Clement: A. J. CARLYLE, M.A.	Hermas: J. DRUMMOND, M.A., LL.D.
II. Clement: J. V. BARTLET; A. J. CARLYLE; P. V. M. BENECKE.	

BOOKS RECEIVED.²

Old Testament History for Schools. By the Rev. W. F. BURNSIDE, M.A., Assistant Master at Cheltenham College. 3s. 6d. London: Methuen & Co.

The Young Preacher's Guide: or Secrets of Success in Sacred Oratory. By the Rev. GILBERT MONKS. With preface by The Ven. the Archdeacon of London. London: Elliot Stock.

A Layman's Life in the Days of the Tractarian Movement. In Memoriam Arthur Acland Troyte. 4s. London: Messrs. Parker.

A Confession of Faith in the Very Words of the Holy Scripture. By SAMUEL SMITH, M.P. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

India and Its Problems. Letters written from India in the winter of 1904-05. By SAMUEL SMITH, M.P. London: Charles J. Thynne, 2d.

¹ *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.* By a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. 6s. (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

² Mention of books under this heading does not preclude a subsequent review.

The Interpreter.

Contributors.

Among others the following have consented to contribute :—

- The RT. REV. HERBERT RYLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester.
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THE
INTERPRETER

... A CHURCH ...
MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1905.

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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things ?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. I.

JUNE, 1905.

No. 6.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Revivals.

If in this issue we publish a paper upon revivals, which points out the dangers attending these movements, and some of those issues which are so frequent and so little to be desired, we would have distinctly understood that we do so through no lack of sympathy with these, or indeed with any efforts which are put forth to quicken the spiritual nature of men, and stimulate their moral activities. We welcome, as we think that all who are jealous for the higher welfare of their country must perforce welcome, the wave of religious awakening which is spreading in many localities. It is true that we may deeply deplore the past neglect of those more adequate agencies which would have rendered unnecessary methods that are fraught with many perils ; but when, through our thoughtlessness or indolence, the better way is closed for ever to our approach, it is well to attain the end by such means as are still available. The surgeon's knife is a sorry substitute for those early precautions which would have prevented disease ; it is often attended with loss, and always with pain, but the risk of greater disaster demands its use.

There are two attitudes with regard to revival movements which seem to us inadequate. The first is that which regards frequent revivals as a necessary and effective way of furthering the Kingdom of Christ: an end which all Christian men must have in view. The second is that which refuses to welcome a drastic step, when the more elementary and the more fundamental training was never offered or never received. In this connexion we might apply our Lord's words to the disciples when they saw one casting out devils in His name: and they forbade him, because he followed not them. It is well for those who have no sympathy with revival movements to remember the Lord's rebuke to their narrow thoughts, and to enquire by what power the demons of lust, drunkenness, lying, theft, and divers forms of selfishness are now being cast out. Can good fruit grow on an evil tree? Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Then let us not attribute beneficent results to an evil cause, or we shall come perilously near to the attitude of those who once said that by the prince of the devils were the devils cast out.

But having said this, we are free to remind those, whose judgment is so carried away by the rapid and noble results of revivals, as to be in danger of deeming these the best way to compass their end, that such means are not infrequently attended with the most serious consequences, which are none the less dangerous in that they are less gross and less obvious than the vices overcome. Much of the narrowness and intolerance, which is so deplorable when found in a Christian man, is the result of a loss of perspective and proportion due to the sudden shock of change. The conversion indeed is a reality, and a grand reality, but a penalty is paid for the long neglect. This is a part of the just providence of God. The pendulum, started violently, often swings far to the other side; and a broad tolerance of the vices and opinions of all is repeatedly followed by a narrow and dogmatic condemnation of every form of Christianity but the one under which the change

was wrought. There are subtle forms of unrighteousness to which such men are sadly prone. They are apt to think that they possess the whole truth, and to brook no dissent from their partial view. They are hasty to condemn progressive thought; and to underestimate the achievements, and disparage the motives, of those who have given their lives and intellect to the search for truth. They need constant reminder that it is this spirit which has always misrepresented and opposed the benefactors of the human race; they need humility to value the labours of Christian learning, and, even if they can do no more, to respect the decisions of reverent scholars who were devoting time and energy to searching out the hidden things of God, while they were squandering the best years of their lives in careless indolence or active vice.

‘Faith and Reason’ Correspondence in ‘The Standard.’

For some weeks past a correspondence under the title, ‘Faith and Reason,’ has been occupying many columns in ‘The Standard.’ Its main importance is its witness to the real interest which English people still take in religious affairs. Indifference is the great foe to Christianity, and the devotion of so much valuable space to the discussion of a religious question in a large daily journal, shows that there must be many who still entertain a lively interest in these matters. The editors of great daily papers soon gauge the tastes of their readers.

The initial cause of this correspondence is the manifesto of a considerable body of Churchmen who desire that ‘the clergy, as religious teachers, may now receive authoritative encouragement to face the critical problems of the New Testament with entire candour, reverence for God and His truth, and loyalty to the Church of Christ.’ They fear ‘lest the door of Ordination should be closed upon men who patiently and reverently apply historical methods to the gospel records.’ They are confident that, despite all, ‘the faith of the church in the years to come,

whatever historical revisions may await us, will stand, without risk and without discontinuity, upon the spiritual foundations to which Christian experience and the Creeds of the Church alike bear testimony.'

Like all similar correspondence, where men of every degree of ability are at liberty to air their opinions, there is a wide divergence in the merit of the letters, and many wise and many foolish things are said.

The majority of the writers seem to confound methods with results. In the manifesto, however, no right is claimed either to hold certain dogmas, or to disregard them : what is demanded is freedom to use certain well recognised tools to test the sources from which they are derived. The tools in question are the ordinary methods of scientific criticism, which we may divide into three branches. Textual, or Lower Criticism, is the earliest and the most fundamental stage of the work. It tries to get back to the real text lying behind all the corruptions which have crept in through the hands of heretics, copyists, and the over-zealous orthodox. To the labours of the textual critic we owe our Revised Version. When the lower critic has finished his share of the work, the higher critic continues ; just as in the study of mathematics, the higher begins where the lower leaves off. The Higher Criticism deals solely with literary questions : the date of documents, their origin, and the plan upon which they were compiled.

Another branch of the same work is that of Historical Criticism, which discusses the credibility of various dogmas, as, for example, the Virgin-birth, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. This branch can have less assurance in the certainty of its results, in proportion as the factors with which it deals are more numerous, more complex, and more variable. People often condemn the Higher Criticism when, in fact, they are thinking of the more speculative conclusions of some historical critic, whose results are often to a great extent hypothetical.

Surely if people rightly considered the nature of the scientific methods, for whose use freedom is demanded, they could not fairly deny the privilege of their employment. To show in part the reasonableness of the plea for this use, we cannot do better than quote again the words of Professor Collins with regard to the examination of documents. There he claims that the student must take the documents one by one, and ask :—‘ Is this a faithful text or is it corrupt ? Is it really the work of the author to which it is ascribed ? Was he a contemporary witness ? If not, when did he live ? When did he write ? What were his opportunities of knowing the facts ? Was he biassed, and if so, in what direction ? Did he write with a purpose, and if so, with what purpose ? What can be learned on these points from internal and what from external evidence ? And do the conclusions agree to which these two respectively lead ?’

It must surely be seen at once that questions such as these are, in their essential features, akin to those which every business man employs if he would court success. To him it is of supreme importance to get back to the facts, and reason from these, and not from hearsay reports, if he would trust to anything but exceptional fortune to keep him from bankruptcy. If some one comes to him with a story of great wealth to be gained from a certain quarter, unless he has very good grounds for believing the tale to be intrinsically impossible, he will act foolishly if, holding the advice cheap, he refuses to investigate ; and his conduct would be equally absurd if he accepted the report without adequate evidence. If he is a prudent man he will institute every enquiry. His confidence would soon be shaken if his informant tried to hinder the investigations he wished to make.

A curious case in point once came under our notice. A man had a patent to sell : it was valid and successful, but the owner was unreasonable and headstrong. He imagined that every one must see as clearly as he himself that his supreme right to the idea was unimpeachable ; and when the company

which proposed to purchase it wished its validity tested by a high authority, he at first refused. His friends at length overcame his obstinacy; the highest advice was obtained, and his patent proved secure. The refusal to submit to the test did not invalidate it, but brought it under suspicion; nor, on the other hand, did the ultimate examination make it valid; it only demonstrated publicly that such was the case.

And so it is with the freedom for examination which is now claimed. It cannot, if all the factors be considered skilfully and honestly, and if the varying degrees of certainty with which the results of the different branches of critical research are attended are borne constantly in mind, do more than prove whether any particular dogma is secure in its foundation or not. It cannot make it secure if it is insecure, neither can it make it insecure if it is secure. But to refuse to subject it to examination is a confession of weakness, and will render plain men suspicious of its claims.

The scientific spirit has become so thoroughly a part of the modern thinking man, manifesting itself in his business dealings, and in every activity of his life, that it is impossible, as it is most undesirable, that he should be asked to forbear its exercise with regard to what are confessedly his most vital interests. May we exercise prudence and exact methods in all our business relations, and are we to be denied their use in questions of life and death? It cannot be permitted. If it could, what right have we to go to the Mohammedan and seek to test his Koran? or to the Hindu and upset his faith in his ancient literature?

The results of such inquiry are quite another matter: they may safely be left: we have no fear what they will be. Unskilled workers may arrive at false conclusions, but their triumph will be short lived; plenty will be willing and able to demonstrate their weakness. This is no argument against the employment of the proper methods. A man may use a plane

to level a piece of wood, but it does not follow, if he fails to make it smooth, that he had better have used a saw. Experience has taught that the plane is the proper instrument for the purpose.

But that the results do not promise to be so terrible as some timid folk fear, we may call attention to the weighty words of Dr. Sanday in this very correspondence. He replies to a letter of an earlier date, written by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, which contains statements that the facts do not justify. Dr. Sanday points to several places where Mr. Conybeare has used his tools carelessly, and refutes the insinuation that certain eminent men, to whom the latter had referred, would have had their hold upon the Bible, or upon the Creeds embodying the essence of the Bible, weakened if they had followed their own conclusions to their logical issue. He says:

It is quite true that the last 40 or 50 years have seen a change in the attitude of many students towards the Bible. But I can say with confidence that not one of the eminent men whose names Mr. Conybeare mentions has shown the least sign that his hold upon the Bible, or upon the Creeds as embodying the essence of the Bible, has been really weakened. Belief is, in many cases, put upon different grounds, but it is not, on that account, any less firm or less sincere than it was. We call in hypothetical causes to a less extent than our forefathers used to do; but it is only because we lay more stress on causes that everyone can appreciate and verify.

The Romance of the Bible in Edessa.

On the banks of the Euphrates, and about 250 miles north-east of Syrian Antioch, lies the city of Urfa, or, as it was formerly called, Edessa. The majority of its inhabitants still profess the Christian faith, though the city has been under Turkish dominance since 1637 A.D. Edessa, and the literature with which it is associated, have a fascinating history, and we owe much to Mr. Burkitt for the light which he has thrown upon it in his St. Margaret's lectures for 1904. These lectures have been published under the title, *Early Eastern Christianity*.

Edessa was the home of the Peshitta, one of the earliest of our versions of the Bible, which was itself a Syriac translation from still earlier documents. Some of the manuscripts of which it is composed must date to the fifth century, for the Nestorians, and the other sects with whom they contended, split asunder before that date, and as the Peshitta versions which each of the factions possessed were substantially the same, they must have obtained them before the disruption took place. These fifth century manuscripts are most remarkably constant, and their value will only be recognised when we bear in mind what wide variations are found in our early Greek manuscripts of the sixth century.

But the Peshitta is not our only heritage from the fifth century. We receive in addition two valuable manuscripts, which agree with one another, while they both differ from the Peshitta. One was found by Dr. Cureton in 1858 in the British Museum, and was in consequence called the 'Curetonian Syriac.' The other was discovered in the convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, in 1893. This latter manuscript is an ancient piece of parchment which has been twice used; the earlier inscription having been washed away to make room for the later. Fortunately, the old writing can still be deciphered.

We may almost certainly conclude, upon the following grounds, that none of these was the original form in which the Gospel was read at Edessa. There are many patristic writings which belong to the years before 400 A.D. Such, for example, are the *Acts of Judas*, and the *Homilies of Aphraates*. These writings frequently quote from the New Testament, but their quotations do not agree with the Peshitta version: they were evidently drawn from a curious volume, which wove into a narrative the salient features of the various Gospels, and was called on that account the Diatessaron. This narrative was compiled sometime before 173 A.D., by Tatian, a native of Mesopotamia. Tatian was branded as a heretic, and his Diatessaron was ultimately banned.

Mr. Burkitt asserts, and gives good reasons for his assertion, that Rabbula, the Bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435, was the author or originator of the Peshitta version, and that he procured the suppression of Diatessaron. We possess accounts which picture Rabbula as a stern disciplinarian, a successful organiser, and a relentless enforcer of Ecclesiastical order. It would vex such a man to see the lack of uniformity in the Scriptures as they were commonly read, and to know that the leading form, the Diatessaron, was the work of a heretic. Here would be his motive for substituting the one authoritative version. How can we escape from this conclusion when we find that, before Rabbula's time, the quotations of ordinary writers do not agree with the Peshitta, but with the Diatessaron, while after his time they agree almost entirely with the Peshitta?

The Czar's Ukase.

Perhaps a preliminary reading of the Czar's Easter message to his people fills us rather with astonishment at the weight of the fetters which have hitherto oppressed the consciences of his subjects, than with admiration at the magnanimity of his concessions. Be this as it may, the Ukase will be far reaching in its results. It has been well described, in view of the existing state of affairs, as 'incisive and incredible;' and if the deed is as fair as the promise these religious liberties will pave the way for greater civil and political freedom.

Now, for the first time, Protestant and Roman marriages will be considered lawful, and ten million dissenters from the Russian State Church will enjoy those elementary rights which were formerly denied to them. So oppressive has been the burden of religious intolerance, and so fine have been the demands of ceremonial uniformity, that to make the sign of the cross with an uncanonical number of fingers was a crime which could be punished to the third and fourth generation.

The only sad feature in the declaration is that the relief is not uniform. Its motive is political and not religious. It extends its privileges to Mohammedans, Buddhists, Old Believers, and Roman Catholics, but it withholds them from Jews and Armenians, whose lot remains as bitter as it was before. The Roman Catholics of Poland, the Buddhists of Central Asia, and the Old Believers, who form the conservative backbone of the lower classes, and who number many millions, are well worth an effort to conciliate; but the Jew as a political force can be disregarded with impunity, and the unrighteous tyranny of which he is still the victim shows no signs of abatement.

A correspondent sends us the following translation from *Le Chrétien Français*, which gives a French Protestant view of the Russian Church, and throws an interesting sidelight upon the origin of some of the abuses which weaken it:—

‘One of the characteristics of this deplorable system of Government is the confusion of the spiritual with the temporal, of the conscience with the interest. The early Protestants, as politicians, did not escape it, and it is just the *jus episcopale* of the German princes, *i.e.*, their religious supremacy, which Peter the Great claimed for himself after having seen it at work in the course of his travels.

‘What was the result, the present of the Russian Church is there to declare, and the vacillation shown by most of its members, under present circumstances, is enough to condemn it.

‘From the time of Peter the Great, the ecclesiastical organisation is put under the Czar, but it is wrong to look on him, as Catholics often do, as a spiritual chief on the same lines as the Pope.

‘Matters of doctrine and discipline are left to the decision of the Holy Synod, a superior council created in 1723. The fifty dioceses, of which one is in America and three in Asia (Jerusalem, Pekin, and Tokio—yes Tokio!), and the eight

‘hundred convents, are placed under this sort of permanent Council, which sits at St. Petersburg. The Czar decides all questions not purely spiritual, and plays the part of Protector, as used to be said of the kings in Western Europe; but perhaps with more truth, he is the outside Bishop.

‘This influence suffices to create, in the clergy of the Empire, a mischievous combination. Of the eight hundred convents, only two hundred and thirty-five are tenanted by women, five hundred odd are monasteries. And what monasteries! Those who have read descriptions of Mount Athos will be able to form for themselves an idea of these hives of thousands of monks, of whom only one here or there retains a trace of individuality. These lucky few are born to fortune; all the higher clergy are taken from their ranks, so that by this system the monastic order becomes a nursery of functionaries as mean as ambitious. How can you expect such creatures to understand the miseries of the people and take in hand its interests to the detriment of their own?

‘To the secular clergy, the ‘white clergy,’ in contrast to the ‘black,’ the monks, belongs the honour of seeing things more plainly, and of suiting its conduct often to what it sees; a line, we know, not without peril.’

THE VISION OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

Apoc. xxi. 9—xxii. 5.

(Continued.)

The Vision proceeds:—

xxi. 18.—‘And the structure of her wall was jasper, and the city was ‘pure gold, like unto pure glass. The foundations of the wall of the city ‘were garnished with every precious stone; the first foundation stone was ‘jasper, the second sapphire, the third chalcedony, the fourth emerald, the ‘fifth sardonyx, the sixth sardion, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, ‘the ninth topaz, the tenth chrysoprase, the eleventh jacinth, the twelfth ‘amethyst. And the twelve gate towers were twelve pearls; each one of ‘the gate towers was made of a single pearl; and the broad thoroughfare ‘of the city was pure gold, as transparent glass.’

This is a *locus classicus* for the student of ancient gems. There are other such lists in the Greek Bible: a list in Ezekiel of the precious stones with which the King of Tyre adorned his person, and two lists in Exodus which describe the jewels that were set in the breastplate of the Jewish High Priest. On the lists in Exodus the present list is no doubt based, but with some curious differences which we shall have occasion to notice presently. As students of the Apocalypse we are of course chiefly concerned with the symbolical meaning of St. John’s list, but we cannot get at this without some attempt to realise its relation to the earlier lists and the colours of the stones it enumerates.

The wall presented the general appearance of being constructed of jasper, while in contrast with it the city seemed to be built of gold, and gold so pure that it was like transparent glass. Now ‘jasper’ was used in *v.* 11 to describe the light given off by ‘the luminary’ of the New Jerusalem, while in *ch.* iv. 3 it represents one aspect of the very Face of God. The modern jasper is opaque, but the ancient *iaspis* sparkled like

crystal, with a pale green light. Thus the wall of 'jasper' girdling the city of pure gold makes a fair contrast of colour, golden yellow tempered by a restful green.

But if the wall as a whole is of one hue, its monotony is broken at regular intervals by masses of other colours; the foundation stones, of which we have read, and which bear Apostolic names, are radiant with all manner of precious stones. Eight of the terms which follow appear also in the LXX. version of Exodus xxviii., while the other four, though not mentioned there in the LXX., may have come from some other Greek version—St. John is by no means tied to the Septuagint—or they may have been preferred as a better rendering of the Hebrew text. The order, too, depends mainly on the order in Exodus, though there are signs of the independence of the Apocalyptic writer. Roughly speaking, the stones which bear the names of the Apostles in the New Jerusalem answer both in character and in their relative positions to those which in the High Priest's breastplate bore the names of the tribes of Israel.

It is more important to take note of the colours and shades of colour represented by the stones in St. John's list. Here our judgment must not be guided by a knowledge of modern gems, for while in many cases the ancient names are given to stones used in modern jewellery, there is evidence that the stones which bore them in St. John's time were often different in composition and even in colour. Happily there are several ancient writers—Pliny the naturalist, Theophrastus, and others—who describe the stones then in use, and by their help the ancient names can generally be explained with fair accuracy. The result of such an enquiry is to show that the stones named by St. John were mainly of four colours; the sapphire, the jacinth, and the amethyst *blue*, the sardion and sardonyx *red*, the chrysolite *gold coloured*, the *iaspis*, the chalcedony, the emerald, the beryl, the topaz, and the chrysoprase *green*. But the blues and the greens were of different hues, the blues ranging from *lapis lazuli* to purple,

the greens from a greenish yellow to the blue green of the deep sea.

Is the writer's purpose simply to give beauty of colouring to his picture? If so, he might have attained his end more effectually by a more careful selection and arrangement of his colours. His first stone is 'jasper,' though it is this with which the whole wall is faced; he brings together his two shades of red, and three of his shades of green. This is scarcely what an artist would have done who was striving after effect. No, it is symbolism, and not art, at which St. John aims. And what is the symbolism of the many coloured foundation stones of the wall of the City of God? Why has each stone which bears the name of an Apostle a colour or hue of its own? Is it possible to doubt that Clement of Alexandria leads the way to a true solution when he says that the colours of the precious stones point to the graces of the Apostolic preaching? Only we need not limit ourselves to the preaching of the Apostles; rather, it is the men themselves that are depicted—men so widely different in personal character, yet equally chosen to fulfil the greatest of all missions; men who, though all called to be foundation stones of the wall of the City of God, were not reduced by the teaching and example of their one Divine Master to a dull uniformity; men who were as precious stones, each having its own colour and hue and retaining it to the end. And in this as in so much else were not the first Twelve Ministers of Christ typical of all who should follow them? Is it not the variety of characters and capabilities, of gifts and graces, which appears in the Saints of the Church, reproduces itself in every Christian community to the present day, and will still find a place in the ideal and perfected Church, that constitutes the charm and the beauty of the *Civitas Dei*, securing manifoldness, fullness, comprehensiveness in its life without detracting from its essential unity? It may be that it is on these lines that the re-union of Christendom will eventually come, rather than through a fresh knitting together of old bonds that have long been severed.

If the foundations are many-coloured precious stones, the gateways are of pearl; each is, in fact, a single monstrous pearl, out of which has been hollowed an aperture for the gate. The pearl has no place in the Old Testament, but in our Lord's day it formed the stock-in-trade of merchantmen who plied their business along the great roads of Galilee; and the Rabbinical writers speak with rapture of the good times at hand when pearls of great price would abound in the land of Israel, and form the gates of Jerusalem—a fancy which the Seer sees realised in the ideal city, where all that is best and most precious in human life is to find a permanent home.

Lastly, when the Seer's eye pierced through any of the open gates, he could see beyond it the broad thoroughfare on which the citizens made their way through the New Jerusalem. The city, it seems, had only this broad street; of the narrow lanes, crowded with men, camels and dogs, foul with refuse of every sort, with which the traveller in the East is too familiar, there were none—only the great avenue which intersected its mighty square; and this, like the city itself, was of gold so pure and bright that those who trod it seemed to be treading on transparent glass. Is this street of pure gold the symbol of Him Who said, 'I am the Way, . . . no man cometh to the Father, but by Me'?

22.—'And Sanctuary saw I not in her, for the Lord God, the Lord of Hosts, is her Sanctuary, and the Lamb. And the city has no need of the sun nor yet of the moon to give light to her; for the Glory of God illumined her, and her lamp is the Lamb.'

No Sanctuary (*ναός*), no temple-building or shrine of Deity in the New Jerusalem. And yet, in the message to Philadelphia (ch. iii. 12), the Lord had promised, 'The conqueror—I will make him a pillar in the Temple of My God, and he shall not go forth without any more.' But if St. John sees no Temple in the City, it is because the City herself is the Temple, or rather, because the Real Presence in her of God and of Christ in the Spirit is her Sanctuary. Once again St. John has found a precursor in St. Paul, who wrote to the Corinthians forty years

before, 'We are a Temple of the Living God, even as God said, I will dwell in them and walk in them,' (II. Cor. vi. 16); and again, 'Know ye not that ye are a Temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you'? 'Know ye not that your body is a Temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you'? (I. Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19). What St. Paul had said of individual believers, St. John says of the Church as a whole, in her ideal state; she has no need of a visible Sanctuary, since God dwells in every home and heart within her borders. It would be a grave abuse of such words to interpret them as a protest against the building and maintenance amongst us of fabrics for the worship of God. Our own age has seen a revival of the zeal which led our forefathers to erect magnificent churches; one great cathedral has nearly reached its completion, another and far more splendid building has been begun; everywhere throughout England our old churches have undergone restoration, and new churches, many of them worthy imitations of the old, are rising up to supply the wants of a growing population. Is all this energy a waste? Is it even a departure from apostolic simplicity, which thoughtful men may rightly deplore? No, but it is without doubt a confession that the ideal of the Church has not yet been realised. 'When that which is perfect is come that which is in part shall be done away'; a localised worship, a material Sanctuary, necessary now, necessary it may be for generations to come, are no part of the permanent heritage of the City of God. Our most glorious works of art are but figures of the true and preparations for it: they fulfil their true functions in so far as they lift us towards the City which is all Sanctuary, the life which is all worship. The hour comes when neither in the great cathedral nor in the roadside Bethel shall men worship the Father; the local Sanctuary, small or great, shall be superseded by the always felt, always welcome Presence of God and of the Lamb.

And as the New Jerusalem has no need for a material Temple, so has it none for a created light. The Presence which consecrates all within its walls illuminates all; its Sun is

the Glory of the Almighty Father, its Lamp (λύχνος) the incarnate, crucified, glorified Lord. The words remind us of the opening chapter of the book, where the Seven Churches of Asia are likened to seven lampstands (λυχνίαι); in contrast with them Christ is the Lamp itself, the One Light of the universal Church; if any Church, if any member of the Church, possesses the Light and becomes a centre of light, it is because of the Presence of the Lamb. In the ideal Church that Presence is so complete that, as we are told twice over a little further on, no darkness shall be left; 'night shall not be there,' 'night shall be no more.'

24.—'And the nations shall walk by her light, and the kings of the earth
'bring their glory into her; and her gate-towers shall not be shut by day,
'for night shall not be there; and they shall bring the glory and the
'honour of the nations into her. And there shall in no case enter into her
'anything polluted, or anyone that makes an abomination or a lie, but
'only they who have been written in the Book of Life which belongs to the
'Lamb.'

This is one of the most remarkable examples in the book of the prophetic foresight of the writer. That it is a direct prophecy and not a part of the description of what he saw, is clear from the sudden change from present to future, which begins in v. 24, and is maintained to the end of the chapter. In the Spirit of revelation the Seer is carried beyond the limits of his vision—he sees not only the Church of the future, but her vast influence over the world. The fulfilment began with the conversion of the Empire; it has been continued through mediæval and modern history to this hour. The Church, so far as she has been true to her ideal, has been ever the light of the world. Even in the dark ages, whatever there was of light was of her giving. In our own time men who refuse the Christian name little know how much they owe to the centuries of Christian opinion and influence which have made life and thought in Christian lands and even in lands not yet Christian such as on the whole they are. On the other hand the Church has received as well as given; the favour of princes, recognition by the State, toleration by enemies, the warm co-operation of

powerful friends, endowments and tithe, the freewill offerings of the rich, the higher education of the clergy, the adornment of her churches, the Christian use of art and science, these and many more advantages unknown to the Church of the first century belong, as St. John foresaw that they would belong, to the Church of the twentieth ; and though not of the essence of the Church's life, though they come from without and not from within, though the world which gave them may take them away, they are not to be despised or renounced, for they belong to the ordering of God's providence, and they vastly increase the Church's power to work for God in the world.

Once more the Angel takes up the rôle of guide and interpreter, and now he reveals to the Seer the interior of the New Jerusalem.

XXII. 1. *ff*—‘And he showed me a River of Water of Life, bright as rock crystal, issuing forth from the Throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of its street and of the river, on this side and on that, was the Tree of Life, bearing twelve fruits, each month yielding its fruit, and the leaves of the Tree for the healing of the nations ; and no more shall there be any accursed thing.’

Let us try and realise the picture which presents itself to the Seer, as his eye takes in the interior of the City. He sees the Golden City, crossed by a broad street of gold, down the centre of which there runs the River of Life, and on each bank of the river a row of trees such as the Tree of Life in the story of Eden, whose branches are laden with fruit at every season, month by month. That is, the broad thoroughfare of the New Jerusalem is intersected by the river, and the river flows through an avenue of fruit-bearing trees.

So much for the picture. What facts in the life of the Church answer to it?

The River of Life and the Tree of Life are both familiar symbols, with a long history behind them. The Old Jerusalem had no river; the pool of Hezekiah, the fountains of Siloam, the rare and soon exhausted streams which after the winter rains flowed down the valley of the Kedron, were nearly the only

water supplies it possessed. In Ezekiel's vision this want is supplied; a stream issues from the Temple rock, falls into the Kedron, gathers volume as it goes, and finally enters the Dead Sea, which it converts into fresh water. With this imagery St. John combines what our Lord said about the Water of Life, and especially His teaching in St. John vii. 38, 'he that believeth in Me . . . out of his belly shall rivers flow of living water.' 'This' (the Evangelist explains) 'spake He of the Spirit which they that believed on Him were about to receive.' Of the Spirit, also, St. John doubtless speaks when in the Apocalypse he mentions the Water of Life—the Spirit which the Church had received and which has come to remain with her for ever, an unfailing River of Grace. In the New Jerusalem there is no Temple-rock, for there is no Temple; but the source of her river is in the Throne of God and of the Lamb, which is in her, and which is her true Sanctuary. The River which makes glad the City of God issues from the Throne on which the glorified Christ lives and reigns with the Almighty Father; *i.e.*, it is the outcome of the Sacrifice, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ.

By the river banks there grows the Tree of Life. This takes us back, as indeed the mention of the river may have already done, to the primæval Paradise of Gen. ii.-iii. Ezekiel has the same conception; wherever this river winds its way, there spring up along its banks trees yielding fruit good for food, and yielding it month by month throughout the year. But, as in all his borrowings from the Old Testament, St. John improves upon his model; his river of life flows not through a paradise inhabited by a single pair, or into a wilderness, but through the heart of a vast City, supplying refreshment to its teeming millions, while the fruit trees on its bank yield them food. If in the River of Life we see the grace of the Spirit into which the whole Church is made to drink, in the produce of the trees which it waters we cannot fail to recognise the manifold fruits of the Spirit, which are at the same time fruits of our Lord's Cross and Passion. The Spirit of Christ gives to the Cross its

unfailing power to bear fruit; in no age, in no generation, since the great Sacrifice was offered, has it ceased to feed, through the Spirit, the souls and bodies of men unto eternal life.

Even the leaves of the Tree of Life are not without value; if they are not food, they are medicine; they 'are for the healing of the nations.' The word *θεραπεία* reminds us of our Lord's miracles of healing in the Gospels. It suggests that to St. John's mind the healing, therapeutic work of Christ did not cease when He left the world; that all that His Church has done and is doing for the amelioration of human life, the care of the sick and the dying, the relief of the destitute, but above all the treatment of spiritual disease and the restoration of spiritual life, is but an extension of His own work, or rather is work done by Him through her hands. The leaves of the Tree of Life are not of our making, but the Tree that bears them is in our midst, and it is our wonderful privilege to dispense them to all the nations of the world.

3.—'And the Throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in her, and His servants shall serve Him, and shall see His Face, and His name shall be on their foreheads. And night shall be no more, and they have no need of lamplight or of sunlight, for the Lord God shall shed light upon them and they shall reign for the ages of ages.'

The city of Pergamum had within it the throne of Satan; in the New Jerusalem is the Throne of God. She is the Divine metropolis of the new world; there God and the Lamb reign supreme, surrounded by the inner circle of Their servants, who themselves are kings and priests, ministering and reigning, reigning and ministering in an endless life.

'His servants shall serve Him.' There is a double metaphor here. We are reminded of the attendance of courtiers upon an Eastern king, that favoured circle of 'friends' who were admitted to the royal presence and who rendered personal service to their lord. We are reminded also of the services rendered by priests to the Deity. The personal servant and the priestly devotee meet in St. John's conception; the members of the Church are

Temple-servants (*ιερόδουλοι*), they render the service of a consecrated life. The ideal State knows nothing higher or better; we are nearest to it when we serve.

‘And they shall reign for ever and ever.’ The Imperial power overshadowed the cities of Asia with an all-pervading sense of the majesty of Rome. St. John meets it with the conception of the imperial dignity of the Christian life. The Kingdom of God, an idea which is everywhere present in the Gospels, takes a new form in the Apocalypse. Christ is ‘the Prince of the Kings of the earth.’ He has constituted His Church a Kingdom, an Empire. Its members are persons of royal dignity. Even in the days of Domitian, when they were hated and put to death for their faith, believers were already reigning on the earth (ch. v. 10). When the Empire of Rome fell before the Cross, their reign would become manifest to all men. ‘I saw . . . the souls of those that had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, . . . and such as had not worshipped the Beast, . . . and they lived and reigned with the Christ a thousand years.’ Here we have represented, in symbolical language, the dominating influence which the Church has exercised from the conversion of the Empire to the present hour. But the ideal is far in excess of the actual, the future of the present; in the final stage of the *Regnum Dei*, ‘they shall reign for the ages of ages.’ The final reign is not for a period of time, however long; it stretches on into the boundless future. Far as the Seer’s eye can reach, it sees no break in the continuity of the saintly life which is at once a service and a reign.

When Bishop Creighton lay dying in the first days of 1901, he was asked what he regarded as the greatest danger of the new century. His answer was, ‘The absence of high aspirations.’ There are many other dangers which are much more obvious, but the great historian-Bishop was probably right. Our time badly needs a high ideal. The rush of modern life, the multiplicity and the complexity of our daily occupations, preoccupy the mind; the canvas is filled by the

present and the actual, and no room is left for broader, larger, higher, views of life.

The New Testament is full of an idealism which provides a remedy for this tendency. Its ideals are not dreams but realities, more real than the transient and the phenomenal can ever be; and they fulfil themselves in present experience sufficiently to demand belief and to justify the highest hopes. And these Christian ideals reach their climax in the Apocalypse. Perhaps an Apocalyptic form was necessary to set them before us in their fullness; what can we know of the perfect except so far as it is expressed in terms of the imperfect? But indeed this vision of the New Jerusalem is not altogether an anticipation. It cheers us with the hope of what we shall be, but at the same time it reveals what we already are. The City of God in its immensity, its transcendent beauty and glory, is in our midst; the River of the Water of Life flows in our streets; the Tree of Life bears its fruits and healing leaves in every Christian land; the Throne of God and of the Lamb is set up in every Christian congregation; our reign with Christ is already begun, if we are learning to worship the Father through Christ in the freedom of the Spirit. To realise this is to be strong in our work, and contented with it; for it is to know that our least duties have their place in a scheme of things which is immeasurably great. We are citizens of no mean city, and our conscious citizenship in the New Jerusalem brightens and elevates all our life.

H. B. SWETE.

THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER.

It is an old difficulty that our Lord, after the Parable of the Sower, seems to be surprised that the disciples did not understand it (Mark iv. 13), while just previously He had said words which seem to imply that the Parables would not be understood, nay, that all things were done in Parables unto 'them that are without,' that they might see and not perceive (Mark iv. 11-12). It has been often asked 'why did Jesus speak in Parables at all, if His hearers were not to understand?' Moreover, the meaning of many of the Parables is perfectly transparent, and was as a matter of fact understood by those to whom they were originally addressed. The assurance of the Evangelist (Mark xii. 12) that the Pharisees knew that Jesus had spoken the Parable of the Vineyard against them is hardly necessary.

We are generally accustomed to regard the story of our Lord's Galilean Ministry too much as a series of disconnected anecdotes. The tales we believe to be true, but they are to most of us so many separate pictures. This habit of mind is no doubt mainly due to the three parallel narratives of the Synoptic Gospels, in which the same incidents re-appear, but not always quite in the same order. And indeed I do not think that we can satisfactorily disentangle the chain of events from the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke. If these Gospels, as we learn from modern criticism,¹ are based on a document either identical with our Gospel of Mark or almost identical with it, together with extracts from other sources now lost, they are not likely to have an organic historical unity. But the Gospel according to S. Mark does not break up under literary analysis. It is the work of a man arranging his materials for the first

¹ Those who wish really to study the Gospels themselves from this point of view can have no better guide than *Horae Synopticae*, by the Rev. Sir John Hawkins (Oxford, 1899).

time. Some of the incidents may have been told many times before by word of mouth, but we may believe that the general plan of the Gospel was fresh. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Evangelist had a conscious purpose in grouping the events as he has done. This is especially the case with the earlier Galilean Ministry, of which we have indeed only a sketch, for the stories told are a mere selection from the actual events. Even if the Evangelist knew no more, he must have had some reason for the order and plan which he has adopted.

In the Parable of the Sower, the point from which we started, we have a piece of our Lord's teaching which is acknowledged by every one to be thoroughly authentic. 'There can be no doubt that the Parables which deal with the attitude men take towards the kingdom of God, and which set forth the moral conditions of participation in it, are, together with the Sermon on the Mount, the most genuine and original remains which have come down to us of the teaching of Jesus.' So wrote F. C. Baur in his *Church History*,¹ and his words express what all of us feel to be true. But what, we may ask, was the occasion of the original utterance of the Parable of the Sower, the head and front of all the Parables? Do our Gospels give us any real help in answering this question?

So far as the Gospels of Matthew and Luke are concerned the answer must be in the negative. There is no special appropriateness for the Parable in the setting given to it in these Gospels. It might even be urged, if we confined our attention to these accounts, that there was no one occasion that called forth this Parable. It might be surmised that it was a stock image, employed more than once by Jesus in teaching. But when we come to S. Mark's account, we find the Parable in a historical setting which is organically appropriate.

The history of our Lord's Ministry is the history of the birth of the Christian Church. At the time of the Baptism of Jesus the Church did not exist; yet at the end it has sufficient

¹ *E. Trans.*, i. 36.

consistency to survive the Crucifixion of its Founder. Soon after the beginning of the public life of Jesus His command is still 'Go, shew thyself to the priest'; in the end, a few months later, He is put to death at the priests' instigation. What had happened in the interval? Can we trace the process by which the nascent Church became separate from the Synagogue? The essential stages are, I believe, given by S. Mark and by S. Mark alone, and the story as there told is so natural in its development that I cannot imagine it to be accidental or the result of conscious art.

What, then, does S. Mark say? First of all he tells us of a period during which Jesus has not yet broken with the ordinary ecclesiastical system. During this period, which may have lasted for some months, Jesus teaches in the Synagogues. His personal friends gather round Him at His call, but they have no special organisation. The religious world of the Galilean Jews, on the other hand, has not yet made up its mind. It might very well be inevitable that the new wine should ultimately break the old bottles; nevertheless the rent has not yet been made, and though objections to various unconventional acts of the new Teacher are made from time to time, some answer is always forthcoming. But this state of things could not last. According to S. Mark the crucial dispute broke out over a matter of Sabbath observance, as to whether the healing of the man with a withered hand was lawful or not. There was clearly a scene of great excitement. Jesus, says S. Mark, looked round upon the Pharisees with anger at their crassness (Mark iii. 5); and they quitted the building to concert measures with the 'Herodians,' *i.e.*, with what we should now call 'Government circles,' to plan how they might get rid of this impossible personage. Here, in Mark iii. 6, we have our Lord's definite breach with official Judaism. He left the Synagogue, never to return again, save once when visiting His own town of Nazareth. After Mark iii. 6 a new era in the Ministry is opened. From that moment begins the separate existence of the embryo Church, and the first rudiments of its organisation

is seen in the appointment of the Twelve (Mark iii. 14). From that moment the aim of Jesus is not the rousing of the multitudes but the instruction and training of His own disciples. True, the multitudes still follow Him on occasions, and sometimes He is willing still to teach them. But if He does so it is by way of an exception, because they have come to Him from a great distance and He cannot bear to send them away without a word.¹

In the present occasion the circumstances were different, it was a time for preparation and organisation, not for an appeal to the crowd; for choosing men and training them, not for precipitating an outbreak. After the great scene in the Synagogue Jesus withdraws to the sea-shore, but He is followed by an enthusiastic and uninstructed crowd (Mark iii. 7-10). He cannot escape from their importunities even by remaining in a friend's boat, so He goes away altogether into the hills, and only those whom He summons to Him are allowed to invade His retreat. There He appoints Twelve of them to be with Him, and also to undertake what we may call the revival ministry, the call to repentance and the announcement of the Kingdom of God in places which had not yet been visited. Our Lord's time for the future is reserved for other work.

Having told us of the appointment of the Twelve, S. Mark goes on to describe how Jesus comes down from the hill side to the shore, in order to go over with a few of His disciples to the country opposite (Mark iv. 35-36). On His way down He passes through Capernaum (Mark iii. 19b-20). The place is still agitated by His recent quarrel with the religious world. The Clergy—for so we may call the Scribes—have now definitely made up their mind that He is a magician working by the aid of the prince of the devils, and His own family think Him mad. Hastily leaving the town without even having had a meal there, He spends the day on the shore of the lake (Mark iii. 20; iv. 1, 35). Those who now form His audience are

¹ See, e.g., Mark vi. 31-34.

composed of His own party, both those who are more instructed and those who are less so, together with a multitude of outsiders.

And just at this point comes the Parable of the Sower and the two other Parables that have to do with the early growth of Kingdom of God. It seems to me that they are extraordinarily appropriate in the setting given them by the Evangelist. As a matter of fact the seed had been sown, the first harvest of disciples had just been reaped. The preaching of Jesus had gone on in Galilee for some months at least, and now, although much of what had been said had fallen upon deaf or forgetful ears, yet a body of disciples had been formed, some of whom, as we know, were ready to go wherever their Master led. The first season was over and now a new sowing was about to begin. The Kingdom of God had really been inaugurated on earth, and it was time that those who lived in it should be conscious of their position, even though as yet the Mustard Plant, with which Jesus compared it, was in no sense a 'tree,' but only a tiny shoot, just visible above the ground.

Moreover the position of these Parables, placed immediately after the appointment of the Twelve and the breach with the Synagogue, explains the language used when the Parable of the Sower is interpreted. Of course we are not bound to hold that in Mark iv. the Parable of the Sower (*vv.* 2-9), the explanation (*vv.* 10-20), and the other Parables (*vv.* 21-25, 26-32), all follow one another in strict chronological sequence. However that may be, the writer of the Gospel has consulted the convenience of his readers by making the explanation immediately follow the Parable, but at the same time we learn that this explanation was not given till Jesus and His more intimate companions were alone (*v.* 10).

Let us try for a moment to represent the scene to ourselves, not from our own point of view, as we look back at the origins of Christianity from the vantage-ground of history, but from the point of view of the audience. I venture to think that what they found most strange and difficult was not the parabolic

form in which Jesus was speaking to them. The difficulty lay in the doctrine itself, the doctrine of the growth of the Kingdom of God.

All through the first century A.D. the religious part of the Jewish nation expected that the Kingdom of God was suddenly about to appear.¹ The belief is attested by the many Jewish Apocalypses which then were written, some of which survive to our own day. They are now subjects of study for learned men, but when they first were circulated they expressed the hopes and aspirations of the multitudes. At the same time there sprang up a series of leaders who announced themselves as heralds of the new age, men like that Theudas of whom we read in the Acts. Our Lord must have seemed like one of these. He had preached for some time that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and now He had taken a decisive step. He had come to a definite breach with those in authority, He had 'come out' (if I may be allowed the phrase), and now those who had been attracted by His personality and believed Him to be a teacher sent by the God of Israel might expect a sign of the approaching catastrophe, or at the very least an assurance that the end was speedily coming. What they heard was very different. They heard that the Kingdom of God was something which could be compared to the growth of a plant, that it was like a man sowing his seed, which then grew from stage to stage naturally and silently, until at last the harvest was ripe.

We Christians of the 20th century have no difficulty in understanding that our Lord's Kingdom was not of this world. We see perfectly well that the development of the Christian character and of the Christian temper among the disciples was the one thing needful to secure the permanence of the Christian Society. That this work could only be inaugurated by the long and intimate intercourse of our Lord Himself with His immediate disciples we now know, seeing that at the time of the

¹ Compare Luke xix. 11.

Passion they were hardly ready for the terrible strain upon their faith. But all this was not obvious in Galilee. Jesus alone was not carried away by the decisive step He Himself had taken; He alone knew that a long period of gradual growth was necessary, before His disciples, even those who were most attached and devoted to Him, would be strong enough to count the cost intelligently and follow Him to the end.

Thus we come back again to Mark iv. 11-13. I cannot see that these verses, when considered in the historical situation, are either inconsistent with themselves or betray the use of two distinct sources by the Evangelist. It will be remembered that according to S. Mark, when those who together with the Twelve formed the circle of the disciples asked our Lord what these Parables meant, He replied 'To you the secret of the Kingdom of God has been given, but to the outsiders it must all come in a Parable that, as Isaiah said, they may see and yet not see.' These words mark the separation that had just been made. A week before they would have been inappropriate; but if Jesus is now outside the old Synagogue, the people of the Synagogue are equally outside the new Church. Those whom Jesus had called to Him (Mark iii. 13) were inside, the rest were outside. The good Tidings of the Kingdom had been announced to all Capernaum and the country round; those who had not responded had heard indeed but not understood. To His disciples He will give further explanations, as much as may be needed, but if those outside misunderstand His teaching, He has other work than to go out of His way to answer their cavils. We never read that Jesus refused to explain His words to anyone who came and asked Him, even in the case of 'outsiders';¹ but for the future He had other work to do than rousing the indifferent or restating His Message to those who were hostile.

What follows in Mark iv. 13 is equally appropriate to the situation. Jesus asks His own disciples, not without a touch of impatience, 'Know ye not this Parable? How then will ye

¹ See for instance Luke x. 29, 37.

know any Parables?' The Parables of growth ought to have been plain at least to some of His intimate friends. But as yet the nature of the Kingdom was not clear to any of them. They differed from 'those without' in their willingness to be taught, but they were not yet 'Scribes instructed in the Kingdom of Heaven.' A few months later we find the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth so established in their allegiance that the shock of the Crucifixion of their Master leaves a nucleus of Christians undispersed. We can hardly believe that this could have been the case had our Lord not devoted the greater part of the interval to the special training of His immediate followers. During the greater part of the year before the last Passover our Lord lives a wandering life, in exile from Galilee or in concealment, and His chief work is no longer that of the Revivalist but of the *Pastor pastorum*.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE DIVINE SPIRIT.

Men are asking in every place for an 'outpouring' of the Spirit. They think of the Welsh Revival, and the Bishop of London's West-end mission, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's call to prayer. Their thoughts go back to Pentecost, and the sound as of a rushing, mighty wind, and the tongues of fire lighting upon the heads of the Apostles. They long for a 'second' Pentecost. But the Divine Spirit is *now* at work in the world. The true meaning of 'revival' is not that the Spirit should revive, but that we should revive. The Spirit is not an occasional Visitant in the world of men ; He is here all the time. But we are only 'occasionally' in a fit state to receive Him, or rather, it is only at times that we stir up the gift that is in us, only at times that we look frankly for the Spirit's guidance, only at times that we cease to mind our own business and let Him mind it for us. In the strict sense of words there will never be a second 'coming of the Holy Ghost' any more than there will be a second Agony and Bloody Sweat, a second Cross and Passion.

So there is need of moral preparation, of a corporate movement of penitence, of the spirit of submission and expectation. 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come to the waters.' The promise is not to everyone, but to him that is athirst, to those who have a deep sense of need, and a 'hunger and thirst after righteousness.' This is the true inwardness of revival. To talk of a 'fresh outpouring' of the Holy Ghost is, in the long run, to misconceive the Spirit of Grace, and to forget that as the Father has been and is working from the beginning even until now, so Jesus is still working through the Spirit sent in His Name.

St. Paul calls the Holy Ghost the Spirit of Jesus. We cannot now think of any visitation of God apart from Jesus. God has revealed Himself once for all in the 'intelligible terms of our humanity,' and any revelation that He makes to us through the invisible Spirit must be inseparably connected with the Advent of our Lord. Therefore we cannot dissociate the 'person and work of the Holy Ghost' from the person and work of Jesus Christ.

A friend, who was much interested in the speculations of Swedenborg, said to me that my 'so-called Trinitarianism was rank Tri-theism.' And indeed the word 'person' leads very often to views of God that are open to the accusation of Tri-theism. Sematology is a strange study. Trace the change in the meaning of the word 'silly,' or the word 'town,' or the word 'person.' *Persona* originally meant a mask. 'The actor assumed a 'persona' when he went to play a part, and a different 'persona' for each different part. Those who first used the word 'person' in connection with God were accused of Sabellianism, of regarding the Persons of the Holy Trinity as mere manifestations, representations of the One God. They were accused, that is, of the very opposite of Tri-theism. The use of the word 'person' is a mere accommodation. If we could find a better word we should certainly not feel ourselves committed to 'person.' For 'person' conveys a false impression. In ordinary speech, we say that of three persons where one 'person' is, there *ipso facto* the other two are not. But of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity where One Person is there *ipso facto* the other Two are. Just as in the Old Testament the anthropomorphic language that is used about God is perhaps designed to preserve the fact of God's *personal* dealings with men, so the word 'person' now assures us that God is not an unrelated stranger, but that we are made in His image and can draw near to Him by faith.

'Speak to Him thou for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit
can meet—

Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

Of all helpful interpretations of the 'Coming of the Holy Ghost' perhaps the most helpful is the late Professor Seeley's 'Enthusiasm of Humanity.' The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son of Man. 'A single conception enthusiastically grasped is found powerful enough to destroy the very root of all immorality within the heart. As every enthusiasm that a man can conceive makes a certain class of sins impossible to him, and raises him not only above the commission of them, but beyond the very temptation to commit them, so there exists an enthusiasm which makes all sin whatever impossible. This enthusiasm is emphatically the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is called here the Enthusiasm of Humanity, because it is that respect for human beings which no one altogether wants raised to the point of enthusiasm. Being a reverence for human beings *as such*, and not for the good qualities they may exhibit, it embraces the bad as well as the good, and as it contemplates human beings in their ideal—that is, in what they might be—it desires not the apparent, but the real and highest welfare of each; lastly, it includes the person himself who feels it, and loving self too only in the ideal, differs as much as possible from selfishness, being associated with self-respect, humility and independence, as selfishness is allied with self-contempt, with arrogance, and with vanity.'

It is just here that the value of the word 'person' becomes apparent. For if we had not that word in use we might be apt to lose sight of the fact that the Spirit was not merely an influence, but that God still visits His people, and even now talks with them 'as a man talketh with his friend.'

All attempts to 'methodize' the Spirit of God have resulted in mistake and heresy. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is everyone that is born of the Spirit.' One cannot presume to 'stop the way of the Spirit' without disaster. Nearly all sectarian movements, as Frederick

¹ J. R. Seeley : *Ecce Homo* p. 111. (6d. Ed.)

* John iii. 8.

Denison Maurice showed in *The Kingdom of Christ*, have been true on their positive side ; they have been false on their negative side, when they dared to limit the love of God. So the Baptist is expressing what is profoundly true when he says that we must make our baptism effective, but he is monstrously false when he dares to say that the Holy Spirit of God cannot co-operate with little children, and that the best gifts of God are reserved for the adolescent. The Wesleyan has got hold of a scriptural truth when he insists on the necessity of conversion, but he is venturing into regions of presumption and folly when he limits conversion to a particular sort of conversion called 'sensible.' And even the Friend, contemptuously styled 'Quaker,' the very man who was, perhaps, chiefly instrumental in reviving a belief in the Presence of the Holy Ghost, who was, perhaps, raised up by God to bring back that belief into the Church of Christ, even he is altogether mistaken when he declares that the Holy Spirit does not work by Sacraments. All true Churchmen should, notwithstanding, preserve a warm heart towards the Friends, for indeed they are people who, despite their Sacramental defects, have done us an inestimable service. They are a dying sect, but they are dying because, thank God, they have done their work in pointing to Pentecost, and assuring all men that the Spirit lives and works.

A. ALLEN BROCKINGTON.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LIFE OF DAVID.

II.—DAVID'S LIFE AT COURT.¹

(I Sam. : xviii. 5—xx. 42.)

THE OLDER NARRATIVE.

XVIII. 5 And David went out withersoever Saul sent him, *and* behaved himself wisely : and Saul set him over the men of war, and it was good in the sight of all the people, and also in the sight of Saul's servants.

6 And it came to pass as they came, . . . that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with timbrels, with joy, and with instruments of music. 7 And the women sang one to another in their play, and said,

Saul hath slain his thousands,

And David his ten thousands.

8 And Saul was very wroth, and this saying displeased him ; and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands : and what can he have more but the kingdom ? 9 And Saul eyed David from that day and forward.

20 And Michal Saul's daughter loved David : and they told Saul, and the thing pleased him. 21 And Saul said, I will give him her, that she may be a snare to him, and that the hand of the Philistines may be against him. Wherefore Saul said to David, Thou shalt this day be my son in law a second time. 22 And Saul commanded his servants, *saying*, Commune with David secretly, and say, Behold, the king hath delight in thee, and all his servants love thee : now therefore be the king's son in law. 23 And Saul's servants spoke those words in the ears of David. And David said,

Seemeth it to you a light thing to be the king's son in law, seeing that I am a poor man, and lightly esteemed ? 24 And the servants of Saul told him, saying, On this manner spake David. 25 And Saul said, Thus shall ye say to David, The king desireth not any dowry but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies. Now Saul thought to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines. 26 And when his servants told David these words, it pleased David well to be the king's son in law. And the days were not expired ; 27 and David arose and went, he and his men, and slew of the Philistines two hundred men ; and David brought their foreskins, and they gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's son in law. And Saul gave him Michal his daughter to wife. 28 And Saul saw and knew that the Lord was with David ; and Michal Saul's daughter loved him. 29 And Saul was yet the more afraid of David ; and Saul was David's enemy continually.

30 Then the princes of the Philistines went forth : and it came to pass, as often as they went forth, that David behaved himself more wisely than all the servants of Saul ; so that his name was much set by.

XIX. 10 And Saul sought to smite David even to the wall with the spear ; but he slipped away out of Saul's presence, and he smote the spear into the wall : and David fled, and escaped

¹ It has been thought advisable, for the sake of greater clearness, to give the two narratives in the text of the Revised Version.

that night. 11 And Saul sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning : and Michal David's wife told him saying, If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow thou shalt be slain. 12 So Michal let David down through the window : and he went, and fled, and escaped.

XX. 1 And David fled from Naioth in Ramah, and came and said before Jonathan. What have I done ? what is mine iniquity ? and what is my sin before thy father, that he seeketh my life ? 2 And he said unto him, God forbid ; thou shalt not die : behold, my father doeth nothing either great or small, but that he discloseth it unto me : and why should my father hide this thing from me ? It is not so. 3 And David sware moreover, and said, Thy father knoweth well that I have found grace in thine eyes ; and he saith, Let not Jonathan know this, lest he be grieved : but truly as the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is but a step between me and death. 4 Then said Jonathan unto David, Whatsoever thy soul desireth, I will even do it for thee. 5 And David said unto Jonathan, Behold, to-morrow is the new moon, and I should not fail to sit with the king at meat : but let me go, that I may hide myself in the field unto the third day at even. 6 If thy father miss me at all, then say, David earnestly asked leave of me that he might run to Beth-lehem his city : for it is the yearly sacrifice there for all the family. 7 If he say thus, It is well ; thy servant shall have peace : but if he be wroth, then know that evil is determined by him. 8 Therefore deal kindly with thy servant ; for thou hast brought thy servant unto a covenant of the LORD with thee : but if there be in me iniquity, slay me thyself ; for why shouldst thou bring me to thy father ?

9 And Jonathan said, Far be it from thee : for if I should at all know that evil were determined by my father to come upon thee, then would not I tell it thee ? 10 Then said David to Jonathan, Who shall tell me if perchance thy father answer thee roughly ? 11 And Jonathan said unto David, Come and let us go out into the field. And they went out both of them into the field.

12 And Jonathan said unto David, The LORD, the God of Israel, *be witness* ; when I have sounded my father about this time to-morrow, *or* the third day, behold, if there be good toward David, shall I not then send unto thee, and disclose it unto thee ? 13 The LORD do so to Jonathan, and more also, should it please my father to do thee evil, if I disclose it not unto thee, and send thee away, that thou mayest go in peace : and the LORD be with thee, as he hath been with my father. 14 And thou shalt not only while yet I live shew me the kindness of the LORD, that I die not : 15 but also thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house for ever : no, not when the LORD hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth. 16 So Jonathan made a covenant with the house of David, *saying*, And the LORD shall require it at the hand of David's enemies. 17 And Jonathan caused David to swear again, for the love that he had to him : for he loved him as he loved his own soul. 18 Then Jonathan said unto him, To-morrow is the new moon : and thou shalt be missed, because thy seat will be empty. 19 And when thou hast stayed three days, thou shalt go down quickly, and come to the place where thou didst hide thyself when the business was in hand, and shalt remain by the stone Ezel. 20 And I will shoot three arrows on the side

thereof, as though I shot at a mark. 21 And, behold, I will send the lad, saying, Go, find the arrows. If I say unto the lad, Behold, the arrows are on this side of thee: take them, and come; for there is peace to thee and no hurt, as the LORD liveth. 22 But if I say thus unto the boy, Behold, the arrows are beyond thee: go thy way; for the LORD hath sent thee away. 23 And as touching the matter which thou and I have spoken of, behold, the LORD is between thee and me for ever.

24 So David hid himself in the field: and when the new moon was come, the king sat him down to eat meat. 25 And the king sat upon his seat, as at other times, even upon the seat by the wall; and Jonathan stood up, and Abner sat by Saul's side: but David's place was empty. 26 Nevertheless Saul spake not any thing that day: for he thought, Something hath befallen him, he is not clean; surely he is not clean. 27 And it came to pass on the morrow after the new moon, *which was* the second day, that David's place was empty: and Saul said unto Jonathan his son, Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat, neither yesterday, nor to-day? 28 And Jonathan answered Saul, David earnestly asked leave of me to go to Beth-lehem: 29 and he said, Let me go, I pray thee; for our family hath a sacrifice in the city; and my brother he hath commanded me *to be there*: and now, if I have found favour in thine eyes, let me get away, I pray thee, and see my brethren. Therefore he is not come unto the king's table. 30 Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of a perverse rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own shame, and unto the shame of thy mother's nakedness? 31 For as long as the son of Jesse liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be stab-

lished, nor thy kingdom. Wherefore now send and fetch him unto me, for he shall surely die. 32 And Jonathan answered Saul his father, and said unto him, Wherefore should he be put to death? what hath he done? 33 And Saul cast his spear at him to smite him: whereby Jonathan knew that it was determined of his father to put David to death. 34 So Jonathan arose from the table in fierce anger, and did eat no meat the second day of the month: for he was grieved for David, because his father had done him shame.

35 And it came to pass in the morning, that Jonathan went out into the field at the time appointed with David, and a little lad with him. 36 And he said unto his lad, Run, find now the arrows which I shoot. And as the lad ran he shot an arrow beyond him. 37 And when the lad was come to the place of the arrow which Jonathan had shot, Jonathan cried after the lad, and said, Is not the arrow beyond thee? 38 And Jonathan cried after the lad, Make speed, haste, stay not. And Jonathan's lad gathered up the arrows, and came to his master. 39 But the lad knew not any thing: only Jonathan and David knew the matter. 40 And Jonathan gave his weapons unto his lad, and said unto him, Go, carry them to the city. 41 And as soon as the lad was gone, David arose out of a place toward the South, and fell on his face to the ground, and bowed himself three times: and they kissed one another, and wept one with another, until David exceeded. 42 Jonathan said to David, Go in peace, forasmuch as we have sworn both of us in the name of the LORD, saying, The LORD shall be between me and thee, and between my seed and thy seed, for ever. And he arose and departed: and Jonathan went into the city.

THE LATER NARRATIVE.

XVIII. 6 And it came to pass : when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with timbrels, with joy, and with instruments of music. 7 And the women sang one to another in their play, and said,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.

8 And Saul was very wroth, and this saying displeased him ; and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands ; and what can he have more but the kingdom ? 9 And Saul eyed David from that day forward.

13 Therefore Saul removed him from him, and made him his captain over a thousand ; and he went out and came in before the people. 14 And David behaved himself wisely in all his ways ; and the LORD was with him. 15 And when Saul saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he stood in awe of him. 16 But all Israel and Judah loved David ; for he went out and came in before them.

XIX. 1 And Saul spake to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David. 2 But Jonathan Saul's son delighted much in David. And Jonathan told David, saying, Saul my father seeketh to slay thee ; now therefore, I pray thee, take heed to thyself in the morning, and abide in a secret place, and hide thyself : 3 and I will go out and stand beside my father in the field where thou art, and I will commune with my father of thee ; and if I see aught, I will tell thee. 4 And Jonathan spake good of David unto Saul his father, and said unto him, Let not the king

sin against his servant, against David ; because he hath not sinned against thee, and because his works have been to thee-ward very good ; 5 for he put his life in his hand, and smote the Philistine, and the LORD wrought a great victory for all Israel : thou sawest it, and didst rejoice : wherefore then wilt thou sin against innocent blood, and slay David without a cause ? 6 And Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan : and Saul sware, As the LORD liveth, he shall not be put to death. 7 And Jonathan called David, and Jonathan shewed him all those things. And Jonathan brought David to Saul, and he was in his presence, as beforetime.

8 And there was war again : and David went out, and fought with the Philistines, and slew them with a great slaughter ; and they fled before him. 9 And an evil spirit from the LORD was upon Saul, as he sat in his house with the spear in his hand ; and David played with his hand. 10 And Saul sought to smite David even to the wall with the spear ; but he slipped away out of Saul's presence, and he smote the spear into the wall : and David fled, and escaped that night. 11 And Saul sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning ; and Michal David's wife told him, saying, If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow thou shalt be slain. 12 So Michal let David down through the window : and he went, and fled, and escaped. 13 And Michal took the teraphim, and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goats' hair at the head thereof, and covered it with the clothes. 14 And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said, He is sick. 15 And Saul sent the messengers to see David, saying,

Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him. 16 And when the messengers came in, behold, the *teraphim* was in the bed, with the pillow of goats' hair at the head thereof. 17 And Saul said unto Michal, Why hast thou deceived me thus, and let mine enemy go, that he is escaped? And Michal answered Saul, He said unto me, Let me go; why should I kill thee?

The main interest of these three chapters centres round the breach between Saul and David, but it is by no means easy to disentangle the main thread of the narrative, owing to the manner in which the editor has treated his sources. Both narratives emphasize the same features of the story, viz., the growing popularity of David and the consequent jealousy of Saul, David's marriage, and the fruitless intervention of Jonathan on behalf of his friend; but this agreement does not extend either to the *order* of the events, or to the *form* in which they are given. Thus both narratives are at one in treating the song of the women, 'Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands,' as the immediate source of the king's jealousy, but whereas the later narrative connects the song with the Goliath incident, the older narrative supplies no direct occasion:¹ the same difference in point of view is evident also in the other incidents.

According to the older narrative David was promoted, soon after he had taken up his residence at court, to the command of the men of war, *i.e.*, of the permanent army organised by Saul. His continual success in his new position, through which he was apparently brought into frequent contact with the Philistines, quickly gained him the popular favour and, as a consequence, aroused the jealousy of Saul. The king's attitude, however, was not shared by the other members of his family, and before long it became evident that the king's daughter, Michal, had fallen in love with the victorious warrior. On being informed of this fact the king at once conceived the

¹ No doubt the older narrative contained an account of some exploit of David's against the Philistines, which originally preceded xviii. 6, but was omitted by the editor in favour of the later account of his defeat of Goliath: the double introduction in verse 6 ('And it came to pass when they came' as opposed to 'when David returned,' &c.) clearly points to this conclusion.

idea of utilising his daughter's affection as a snare for getting rid of his too successful captain. He accordingly causes David to be informed of his willingness to accept him as his son-in-law on condition that he provides one hundred foreskins of the Philistines as a dowry. To the disappointment of the king, who had hoped that David would perish in the attempt, the latter fulfils the condition,¹ and in due course receives Michal in marriage.² The failure of his first scheme against the life of David would seem to have increased rather than diminished the animosity of the king, and in a sudden access of madness he hurls his spear at his son-in-law, while the latter is playing the harp before him.³ At a loss to account for the king's hatred David appeals to his friend Jonathan, who while repudiating any design on the part of his father against the life of David, promises to find out the true state of the king's feelings. In accordance with the plan devised by the two friends David hid himself during the festival of the new moon. No notice was taken of his absence from the royal table on the first day of the feast, and on the following day, in answer to the king's inquiries, Jonathan explains that he had earnestly requested leave to attend a family feast at Bethlehem. The excuse, so far from appeasing, only increases the king's displeasure: in his rage he heaps violent reproaches upon his son, whom he accuses of encouraging David's aspirations to the throne, and replies to Jonathan's further expostulation by casting his spear at him. Jonathan thereupon withdraws in anger, convinced of his father's determination to slay David. On the morrow Jonathan fulfils his promise of informing David as to the result of his intervention. Accompanied by a lad he

¹ According to the text David procures twice the required number, but II. Sam. iii. 14 shows that the Septuagint has given the better reading, viz., one hundred.

² It has been urged with some force that David's marriage to Michal really belongs to an earlier period, before Saul's jealousy had been stirred. The latter may well have considered it politic to secure the allegiance of his commander-in-chief by marrying him to his daughter. If this view be correct the editor has wrongly subordinated the incident to his main theme, viz., Saul's growing jealousy of David.

³ This incident (xxviii. 10, 11) probably owes its present position to the editor who combined the two narratives.

proceeds to the spot where David was in hiding, and gives the pre-concerted signal for David to take refuge in flight.¹

When we turn to the later narrative we find that the song of the women, which first aroused the king's jealousy, is connected with David's victory over Goliath, while his promotion to the command of a body of troops (not the whole army) is due to the desire to remove him from the king's presence. In this narrative also Saul seeks to get rid of his rival by promising him the hand of his daughter as a reward for fighting against the Philistines. But it is Saul's elder daughter, Merab, who is here designated as the future bride, and the incident is terminated somewhat abruptly by the statement that she was given in marriage not to David but to Adriel. Yet the sequel (xix. 8 f.) shows that the later narrative must have contained an account of David's marriage with Michal, though no trace of it has been preserved. Lastly, we also find an account of Jonathan's intervention on behalf of his friend (xix. 1-7). In an interview with his father he reminds him of David's great services towards him and especially of his defeat of Goliath. The king thereupon takes an oath that David shall not be put to death, and the old relations are re-established. A further success of David, however, against the Philistines is sufficient to rekindle Saul's smouldering jealousy, and in a sudden frenzy he seeks to slay him with his spear. For the moment David escapes, but the same night (LXX.) the king sends messengers to keep guard over his house with orders to slay him in the morning. By the clever device of his wife Michal, who places the teraphim, or household image, in his bed and covers it with the bedclothing, the king's messengers are deceived and David effects his escape through the window. The subterfuge is only discovered on the following morning when the messengers are ordered to bring their prisoner on his bed. Michal

¹ The ensuing interview (xx. 41-42) may be safely regarded as a later addition since it ignores the whole point of the signals by means of the arrows. Probably also the earlier part of the chapter has been expanded in a similar manner; vv. 11-17 especially (the covenant between Jonathan and David) interrupt the main course of the narrative, and take for granted that David and not Jonathan is the natural successor to the throne.

defends her action by pleading that David had threatened her life.

The above analysis shows clearly the composite character of these chapters, and by so doing affords an explanation of what must otherwise be regarded as serious discrepancies in the history. For the language in which David speaks of the proposed alliance with the royal family (xviii. 23) is hardly natural in the mouth of one who had already been affianced to the king's elder daughter (xviii. 17 *f.*). It is difficult again to explain Jonathan's denial of any intention on his father's part to slay David (xx. 2) in view of his definite statements (xix. 2-5), and of the incident narrated in xix. 11-17. Indeed the whole situation of ch. xx. is inexplicable after the events described in xix. 11-17. For though David might have regarded the hurling of the spear (xix. 9-10) as due to a temporary fit of madness, neither he nor Jonathan could have been uncertain as to the king's real intention after his deliberate commands in xix. 11 *f.* Yet the whole plot of the two friends, as set forth in ch. xx., turns on the fact that David would naturally appear at the royal table on the occasion of the new moon festival. As we have seen, the editor has apparently left out the incident which led up to the song of the women in the older narrative, and also the later account of the marriage of Michal. For the rest he has simply reproduced the various incidents in a twofold form, with but little attempt, beyond a slight variation of the order, at linking them together. Under the latter head we must place the last clause of xviii. 21 (Wherefore Saul said to David, Thou shalt this day be my son-in-law a second time); probably also the later narrative of Jonathan's intervention has been expanded by the addition of vv. 2, 3 and 7 (with the exception of the last clause).

It is noticeable that the LXX. (Codex Vaticanus) presents ch. xviii. in a much shorter form, omitting vv. 5, 6a, 8b, 10, 11, 12b, 17-19, 21b, 26b, 29b. Owing to the fact that this shorter version gives a more intelligible sequence of events, and emphasises more clearly the gradual growth of Saul's jealousy,

it has been regarded by many scholars as the more original form of the text. But though the shorter text omits some of the difficulties, viz., the first casting of the spear, and the marriage of David with Merab, it seems more probable that the omissions are due, as in ch. xvii., to harmonistic motives.

The remaining section (xix. 18-24), together with the words 'from Naioth to Ramah,' (xx. 1), is undoubtedly a very late addition inserted (like xvi. 1-13) for the purpose of introducing Samuel into the narrative. The grounds for this opinion are briefly:—(1) that an entirely different and more genuine explanation of the proverb 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' has been already given in x. 10 f.; (2) it is unlikely that David would flee northwards to Ramah: we should naturally expect him to take refuge among his own people in the south (cf. xxi. 1); and (3) a further meeting between Saul and Samuel is inconsistent with xv. 35. Additional confirmation of this view is afforded by the position assigned to Samuel, which differs widely from that of the older narrative concerning him (I. Sam. ix. 1 f.): moreover the whole conception of the prophetic school with Samuel at its head is unhistorical.

III. DAVID'S FLIGHT AND LIFE AS AN OUTLAW.

(Chap. xxi.—xxvii.)

(a) *David's Flight, and the Massacre of the Priests.*

(Chaps. xxi.—xxii.)

If we ignore the visit to Ramah recorded in xix. 18-24, the first place at which David halts in his flight from Gibeah to the south is Nob, a priestly city just north of Jerusalem. To explain his unexpected appearance, alone and without arms, he informs Ahimelech, who is at the head of the priests, that he has been sent on a secret commission by the king. In response to his demand for food, the priest, in default of common bread, gives him the sacred shewbread, which had been removed that day from the altar, and further hands over to him the sword of Goliath which was in his keeping. From Nob the fugitive

passed on to the S.W., and finally took up his abode in the stronghold (not *cave* cf. xxii. 4) of Adullam, situated in the Shephelah (the region of low hills lying between the maritime plain and the Great Central Range). Here he was joined by the members of his father's house, who doubtless feared Saul's vengeance, and also by all those who were discontented or oppressed in the land, and found himself before long at the head of a band of nearly 400 men. Shortly after, this number was increased to 600, among whom were included men of Gad, Judah and Benjamin (I. Chron. xii. 8 *f.*) as well as others who were not Israelites (I. Sam. xxvi. 6, cf. II. Sam. xxiii. 37-39): for greater security, however, David placed his parents under the protection of the king of Moab. Meantime, Saul had not remained without information as to the fugitive's movements. He first learns, however, of the incident at Nob from Doeg the Edomite, who had accidentally been present at the interview between David and Ahimelech. The news fills Saul with anger, and he at once summons all the priests of Nob, and accuses them of conspiring with David against the throne. Ahimelech pleads his innocence, and points out that he had merely acted as on former occasions. Saul, however, turns a deaf ear to his protestations, and orders the execution of all the priests. The king's guards refuse to slay the consecrated priests, and so Doeg alone carries out the royal command, eighty-five priests perishing by his sword. Abiathar, one of the sons of Ahimelech, alone escapes the massacre, and takes refuge with David.

There seems little doubt that the last part of ch. xxi. (vv. 10-15) is yet another instance of editorial addition to the text. It describes how David fled to the court of Achish, king of Gath, and was at once recognised by the Philistines as the warrior whose victories over them had been celebrated in song (it is noticeable that they describe him as 'the king of the land'!). David, in alarm at their discovery, feigns madness, and so effects his escape. It is, however, highly improbable that David sought refuge among the hereditary enemies of his people at such an early period in his wanderings: such an

expedient would naturally first occur to him, when every other means of escape had failed. No doubt the present narrative was intended to supplant the genuine account of David's relations with King Achish contained in ch. xxvii. 1 f., and was afterwards retained along with it. The passage is inconsistent in itself and interrupts the main narrative; further it seems to presuppose xvi. 1-13 and xix. 18-24.

The rest of these two chapters, as we have seen, seems to connect quite naturally, but a closer examination reveals certain points of difference. Thus Doeg is described in xxi. 7 as the chiefest (rather, *mightiest*) of Saul's herdsmen (better, *runners*); in xxii. 9 as 'set over the servants of Saul.' A more important point is the emphasis laid in ch. xxii. on Ahimelech's enquiry of God on behalf of David (vv. 10, 13, 15); in ch. xxi. this fact is ignored, and stress is rather laid on the *sacred* character of the bread given to David. It would seem, therefore, that the editor has combined part of the later narrative, xxi. 1-9 (note the reference to the Goliath incident in verse 9) with the older narrative contained in xxii. 6-23. No doubt the later narrative originally gave a description of the massacre of the priests, to which xxii. 19 possibly belongs. The mention of Goliath's sword (xxii. 10 and 13) is probably due to the editor.

. J. F. STENNING.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING AT OXFORD.

It has been claimed for Oxford that the first book printed in England proceeded from one of her presses. This claim is not unchallenged, and can perhaps with difficulty be maintained; certainly most of the leading bibliographers are inclined to discredit it. It rests, however, upon better evidence than the pamphlet of Mr. Atkins in 1664, which he obviously wrote to curry the royal favour. The narrative, which we give briefly below, is a clumsily forged tale: its only value lies in the attention which it directs to an important document, called the *Expositio Sancti Jeromini in Simbolum Apostolorum*, issuing from Oxford, and bearing the date 1468.

It informs us that Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, hearing that the new art of printing was being practised in Europe, successfully urged Henry VI. to procure a press for England. To defray the expense of the heavy bribes, which were necessary to smuggle a printer from Holland, the King subscribed 700 marks and the Archbishop 300. The agent employed to procure a printer's assistant enlisted the services of Caxton, who was at that time acting as a London merchant in constant communication with the Netherlands. Together they persuaded an underworkman named Corsellis to come with them to England, and, considering it unwise to commence operations in London, the first press was set up at Oxford, where Bouchier was at that time Vice-Chancellor. This was ten years before printing was exercised in any other European town with the exception of Haarlem and Mentz.

Such is Mr. Atkins' story, which he says came from the records in Lambeth House. The pamphlet at any rate served to bring into prominence the *Jerome*, and despite all that can

be said against the early date which is printed upon the flyleaf of this document, there are strong arguments in favour of its correctness. The type is of an early cut, and differs too widely from that of the volume of 1479 to be the development of a single year; and further, there is no ground for supposing that the date was accidentally falsified, for in none of the early copies was there any suspicion of pen corrections, which are usually to be found in such a case. And finally no motive can be alleged for wilful deceit. Perhaps the question may best be left an open one.

Caxton, indeed, had printed books in the English language before this time, but he had executed his work in the Netherlands at the command of Margaret, the sister of Edward IV.

The early Oxford press to which this *Jerome* owes its existence, seems to have turned out but few editions, and did not continue its work for long. Nor was the second press, which began operations near Merton College, on December 4th, 1517, destined to a more distinguished career: its activities were over and it seems to have produced no theological literature. In fact, for four decades during the middle of the sixteenth century the printing industry sank to a low level, and the presses at Oxford, Cambridge, York, Tavistock, and Abingdon were all closed down.

In 1585 the University authorities lent Joseph Barnes £100 to start a University press, and from that date onwards its activity has been continuous. But in those early days printing was hampered by minute legislation. Even the number of the staff connected with a press was the subject for careful definition. In 1586 an Ordinance of the Star Chamber allowed Oxford to use one press and employ one apprentice, and it was not until 1632 that she received her first charter for printing, which permitted her to employ three journeymen. In the following year her charter was extended, and each of the three men had the privilege of working two presses, with the aid of two apprentices.

The civil war strained the output of the University press to its fullest extent. Between 1642 and 1645, when Oxford was the Royalist centre, large quantities of letters, proclamations, and pamphlets were prepared for distribution; but the output at once fell off when the Parliamentary dominance began.

The peace which followed the Restoration was the signal for renewed activity, which was still further increased during the Great Plague in London, when the king and his court removed to Oxford for safety. It was during this stay that *The London Gazette*, the oldest newspaper in the country, began to be printed at Oxford under the title *The Oxford Gazette*.

Shortly before this time, and for many years afterwards, the Oxford and London printers were engaged in a fierce struggle with regard to the privilege of printing Bibles. When the Oxford Bible Press was formally started in 1675, the London printers undersold the Oxford edition, and so damaging was their opposition that it could only be overcome by bringing some London booksellers in.

The Bible industry grew to immense proportions, and in the seven years preceeding 1815 the output was 460,500 Bibles, 386,000 New Testaments and 400,000 Prayer Books, besides Catechisms and Psalters. These figures have, of course, been far eclipsed in more modern times. On a single day, May 1st, 1881, when the Revised Version of the New Testament was published, over one million Oxford copies were sold.

Between the years 1840 and 1842 a flood of pamphlets was occasioned by the Tractarian movement. In *The Chart of Oxford Printing*, which Mr. Falconer Madan prepared in 1904 for the Bibliographical Society, the fluctuations of the number of editions (not the number of volumes) which issued from the Oxford presses can be readily traced for every year between 1585 and 1900.

CHURCH-DANCING IN MANY LANDS.

Dancing may, indeed, be well called 'the poetry of motion,' and by it we find people of every clime and race expressing their natural feelings. It is not a little striking, that from the most highly cultured races of the Orient to the savage tribes in the districts recently opened up in eastern Africa, dances play a very important part in the religious and social life of the people. The frenzies of the dancing Dervishes, which occur in this connection, are so much a matter of history as to require but passing notice, while from both the Bible and the Talmud we learn that among the People of Israel dancing was a common way of showing great religious joy. The accounts of Miriam, and also of King David, dancing before the Ark, are instances which will occur readily to most of us, and lead us to infer that the early Jewish converts to Christianity were accustomed to this form of devotion, as also undoubtedly would be the case with the Gentile neophytes. Still we find little reason to believe that the Christians, during the time of persecution, gave vent to their fervour by dancing. In all probability it was not until great masses of the people were evangelized that it was deemed advisable to permit many practices, which—in themselves innocent—had been connected with heathen worship.

In many of the early Fathers we find stern denunciation of the two sexes dancing together; judging, however, from their frequent repetition, it seems more than probable that the admonitions had but small effect. In the various writings of the middle ages the custom of dancing in churches is mentioned from time to time, usually in terms of opprobrium.

During the twelfth century at *Les Fêtes de la Reine* the Liégeois were accustomed to dance in their churches in grotesque costumes. It is stated also that a hundred years later at Oxford a decree against dancing in the Church on the

feasts of the patrons of the 'Nations' needed all the authority of the Chancellor before it was found possible to enforce it.

A sect, which sprang up during the fourteenth century, practised dancing as part of the outward expression of its creed. 'The Dancers,' as it was called, gained some strength in the Low Countries and the Rhineland. The antics of its followers resembled in no small degree those of certain modern American sects, in which dancing with great violence is succeeded by a state of trance, when visions are seen. The same, or a similar body of dancers, were found at Strassburg some forty years later.

Even as late as the second half of the seventeenth century the people of Limoges were accustomed on the feast of St. Martial to dance in the choir of the church of St. Leonard, while singing in their *patois*, 'St. Martial, pray for us and we will dance for you.'

But it is to Spain we must turn as the land above all others where the church-dance flourishes in the present day with the greatest vigour. The minuet performed in the choir of Seville Cathedral on certain high festivals is famous the world over. The following story is related to explain how this dance has come down to our time, notwithstanding the many attempts that have been made completely to rid the Church of a practice which was felt, and perhaps with reason, to be dangerous. When, at the latter end of the sixteenth century, the Counter-Reformation brought about by the Council of Trent was at its height, certain Spanish prelates, whose fervour was only equalled by their austerity, were shocked at a laxity which allowed so unseemly a rite to take place in a Christian temple. Nevertheless, these innovators found it impossible to purge it from the Spanish churches without recourse to Rome. At Rome representation was made with success, and a stop was at once put to the objectionable performance. But the canons of Seville, who were not austere, and were very conservative when it came to abolishing a ritual in which their people took the greatest delight, appealed in their turn to the Pope, and their

cause did not lack powerful support. Among the many reasons that were alleged for the continuance of this devotional practice, was given the one that the patrons had lately gone to a great expense in providing fresh suits of clothes for the dancers, which now would be utterly wasted. This reason seems to have carried great weight, for the Pope, who was anxious to please all parties if possible, relaxed the new decree in favour of Seville until the finery should be worn out. Such an undesirable consummation has never taken place, a system of judicious refurbishing having been carefully observed, and it is to be doubted whether at the present time an ecclesiastic could be found between the Pyrenees and Gibraltar who would not strenuously oppose any attempt to do away with the ceremony.

According to a recent account, ten of the choristers take part in this dance. After the Archbishop has seated himself on his throne, the performers enter, gorgeously dressed as pages of the time of Philip III., with plumed hats on their heads, and stand facing one another before the high altar, five on each side of the choir. They begin by singing a hymn in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and are accompanied by the soft strains of violins. 'While singing they perform a slow and most graceful minuet, advancing towards each other and crossing and re-crossing in a manner most pleasing to behold.' The air is prolonged by the orchestra and the boys playing castanets, while the dancing continues. Then once again before they finish they repeat the hymn.

Dancing also takes place in the churches of Andalusia at Christmas time, when living actors give a representation of the Nativity. A vivid account of this ceremony is to be found in *La Noche de Navidad*, a sketch by the Spanish novelist, Fernan Caballero. She writes as follows: 'Now enter the men personating the shepherds, bearing their offerings, who in slow and stately dance advance to the altar; recalling the exquisite dance of the choristers in the Cathedral of Seville, so antique in origin, so established by custom, so poetic by virtue of its

simplicity.' In speaking of its ancient origin, the novelist is not improbably referring to a tradition which explains how dancing first originated in the Spanish churches.

It is said that during the Moorish Conquest of the Peninsula, a marauding party of the Paynim once entered a church with the intention of massacring the Christians at their prayers. Knowing how fond the enemy were of watching the national amusement, with ready presence of mind some of the young men who excelled in this art, notwithstanding the sacredness of the place, began to dance in the open space before the altar. The weird beauty of the step and the graceful movements of the youths softened the hearts of the invaders, who spared the villagers' lives. After this dancing in church became common both as an act of thanksgiving and also as a means of self-preservation. It is quite possible that the Moors, during their occupation of Spain, would not infrequently enter the churches on feast days for the sake of witnessing the dancing. Certainly, during the middle ages there was at times much mutual tolerance. This is proved beyond doubt by the fact that the bishops continually found it necessary to forbid with anathemas the solemnization of marriages between Christians and Muslims.

Similar dancing is found in other Spanish-speaking countries, for the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan, a brother of the late Cardinal, in a letter addressed to the editor of *El Nacional*, of Iquique, writes of some Indians of Bolivia, as follows:—' After Mass had been celebrated by their chaplain, these Indians, magnificently costumed, began to dance slowly in the Piazza in front of the Church, with great interior recollection, accompanying their movements and gestures with the singing of suitable hymns in their native dialect, all composed by themselves, but in a very solemn tone, yet so very sweet, till at length they began to file off, giving their 'adios' to the Child Jesus, for it was the Octave of the Epiphany. This extraordinary religious ceremony was as devout as it was imposing and edifying.'

For the following surprising story of the form which religious dances take in Mexico we are indebted to E. B. Tylor's *Anahuac*:—‘They,’ *i.e.*, the Indians, ‘stationed themselves in the middle of the Church, opposite the high altar, and to our unspeakable astonishment began to dance the polka. Then came a waltz, then a schottische, then another waltz, and finally a quadrille set to unmitigated English tunes.’ In spite of the seeming incongruity of such a selection, we gather that perfect decorum was observed, the dancers finally leading their partners to the high altar, where they all knelt down, their example being followed by the congregation.

However ‘imposing and edifying’ the stately ecclesiastical dance of Spain may be, it is almost impossible to credit that an ordinary mortal can find edification in the Dancing Procession held yearly at Echternach in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, on the Tuesday in Whitweek. Yet we are assured that not only the Luxemburg and German peasants who take part in this exercise, but also the spectators, are much moved by this procession, probably unrivalled for its quaintness. It is held in honour of the Englishman, Saint Willibrord, called the Apostle of the Frisians, whose relics repose in the old Benedictine monastery in the middle of the town. With but few interruptions, this custom has been observed for more than eleven hundred years, and there is no sign of diminution in the number of the pilgrims, as many as thirty thousand often taking part in the extraordinary rite. Bands of country people arrive in the town soon after sunrise, for all are desirous of beginning the day by hearing one, at any rate, of the Masses said at the altar of the abbey-church under which the bones of St. Willibrord lie.

About eight o'clock a.m., the Bishop of Luxemburg, vested in cope and mitre of cloth of gold, arrives, and, accompanied by numbers of the clergy, makes his way across the bridge leading into German territory. Here at a stone cross, which takes the place of a lindentree under whose sheltering branches tradition says the Saint preached, a short sermon in praise of the great missionary is given, followed by

the episcopal blessing. Then the bands begin to play, and the people start dancing to the accompaniment of an ancient tune, the Litany of St. Willibrord, 'Heiliger Willibrord, bitte für uns.' The Bishop and clergy head the procession, slowly returning over the bridge to the town, followed by the dancing pilgrim-throng, which, in rows from four to six deep, either clasp each other by the hand or take hold of long scarves. Men and women dance separately. The dance itself is a rhythmical jump, five steps forward and two backward, or three forward and one backward, and thus the procession wends its way back to the church, 'having the appearance of a wind-tossed sea.' Apparently there is no reason for disbelieving the tradition which refers the origin of this particular dancing procession to a period soon after St. Willibrord's death, which took place in 739. It is said a disease, somewhat similar to St. Vitus's dance, had broken out among the cattle, and the people instituted the procession in consequence, hoping thus to enlist the aid of the Saint.

In England at the present time, in the Whit Monday Catholic procession at Wigan, groups of youthful morris-dancers walk, holding light batons, to which little bells are attached. Whenever the procession stops walking, in order to prevent a crush, the lads amuse the spectators by dancing some steps in which they have been carefully trained, shaking the batons in rhythmical measure. This procession can fairly be called a religious one, for though the clergy, who lead their flocks, are not in vestments, yet each parish walks behind a processional crucifix, and the banners of the different guilds are displayed.

In the present day, the few instances of church-dancing that remain are but picturesque survivals from a primitive age, as great an anachronism in our modern civilization as the communal march of the strikers to London in order to lay their grievances before the Houses of Parliament.

JULIAN E. O. W. PEACOCK.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF REVIVALISM.

- The Religious Revival in Wales, 1904.* Nos. I.-III. By 'Awstin' and other Special Correspondents of the *Western Mail*, Cardiff. 1d.
- Revival Pamphlets.* I.—The Revival in Wales. II.—The Torrey-Alexander Mission. By W. T. STEAD, 1905. 1d.
- How to Promote and Conduct a Successful Revival.* By R. A. TORREY. Andrew Melrose. London.
- The Ministry of Conversion.* By the Rev. A. J. MASON. 'Hand-books for the Clergy' Series. Longmans.
- The Psychology of Religion.* E. D. STARBUCK. Contemporary Science Series. Walter Scott.
- Psychologie des Foules.* GUSTAVE LEBON. Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine. Paris. Huitième Édition, 1904.

Revivalism is in the air just now. An enthusiastic movement has suddenly made its appearance in Wales and has forced itself on the attention of the outside world. A great scheme of missionary effort has been organised in several of our great cities by two Americans, who have been holding meetings in all parts of the world, and have now come to London. To the ordinary reader of the newspaper, or the man in the street, these events appear unusual and startling; descriptions of isolated scenes in Welsh mountain-side chapels make striking copy in the press; the report of a densely packed meeting stirred by a powerful preacher reads strangely unlike our ordinary daily life.

But when we turn to the more continuous accounts of the movements, they begin to lose their unique character. The same characteristic features are reproduced time after time, the same phenomena appear wherever the conditions are repeated, and as the same story is told again and again, it begins to lose its exceptional interest. We realise that what is so striking at

first sight comes to be reckoned on by those who are associated with the continuous work of revivals, and that the 'free out-pourings of the Spirit' can be brought into certain very definite channels. Semi-scientific studies are brought out for the guidance of workers, and, on the one side, the high office and calling of a missionary is considered in all its opportunities and duties, while, on the other, the profession of a revivalist is sometimes discussed in language far better suited to the methods of men engaged in trade.

Mere reduction to rule, however, is not science. A subject is not studied with real understanding till it is brought into relation to other branches of ordered knowledge. The true nature of revivalism will never be grasped till it is realised that its phenomena appear in accordance with certain well known laws of psychology, which, in their turn, are intimately connected with particular physical conditions. The more striking features of missions are not the peculiar results of Christian preaching; they have not necessarily any religious significance.

The conditions of the mental and psychological development have been carefully studied of recent years. It would seem that the relations of conscious to subconscious life, and the influence of the emotions on both, are intimately connected with the growth of various parts of the brain; that till these have learned to act as one, the harmony of a man's being is disturbed. In youth, at the time of most rapid physical development, this disorder is naturally intensified, and the corresponding inner struggle of the soul produces what is known as 'the awkward age.' In uneducated people the discord remains unresolved often till late in life. Even in the maturer years of others much of this irregularity remains, and certain things (as did the scheme of this essay to the writer while waiting for a tram) come suddenly into our minds as a whole, but normal harmonious development is the most natural and most fruitful course. Boys have special need of external regularity of life in the 'trying time,' and a wise master will seek to discipline and train their emotions, their intellectual life,

and their will, in balance, knowing well the danger of re-action, or failure, if any one is neglected or strained.

Similarly, though with less certainty, various laws of the phenomena of hypnotism and mental suggestion are being established. Here, definite results are more difficult to reach. The mental state in question is an abnormal one, and the methods used to induce it are dangerous to practice. It is clear, however, that a certain paralysis of the nerve centres that are associated with independent action, is produced by various uses of the eyes or of gestures; that fixed expectation has a similar effect, and that this passive attitude is further helped by continuous repetition of words, sounds, or phrases.

Again, it has long since been observed that people act differently as individuals and in a crowd. In a theatre tears will come to the eyes of men who would be dry eyed at times of real sorrow borne without the knowledge of the world. The reason would seem to be that, in company, individual peculiarities find no encouragement, and the temper of a body of men is the greatest common measure of their feelings. As a consequence, the larger the number, the more is the mass subjected to simple elementary passions, and in proportion as variety is eliminated, these passions acquire an intensity of power. Especially is this the case in the evening when the powers of self-control are fatigued.

These facts are recognised in all propagandist methods. In the political world the value of the big popular meeting is well known, but its limitations are also recognised. Little reliance is placed upon it except as giving an occasional impetus to the continuous work of the Press, and even that, it is recognised, is of small value by the side of sound teaching and the study of facts. A policy as expounded by an able speaker may capture the ear of a meeting, a large section of the Press may be bought in order to support it, but its ultimate failure is assured when facts are against it. So, too, the limited nature of the power of the sermon is always felt by the preacher, as

well as the continuous temptation to cheapen his message, and to appeal to the gallery.

Now turn to the accounts of the Revival, and see what we find. The large part unconsciously played by sex interest is at once apparent to anyone who views the movement from outside. The prominent figures in the narratives are young women. The Revival has taken place in a country where the national tendency to emotion has been further accentuated by the type of religion its inhabitants have adopted, with its strong appeal to the feelings in preaching, with its indulgence of the emotions in hymns, and its rejection of the classic forms of worship which would have educated and trained them. Moreover, the substitution of preaching for worship would seem to tend inevitably to the substitution of politics for religion, which, among a religious people like the Welsh, is bound to end in a reaction. Mr. Roberts' constant appeal to his hearers to lay aside sectarianism has been a marked feature in the movement.

Similarly, in the accounts of the Welsh Revival, those who have described the meetings have laid great stress on Mr. Roberts' gestures and on his expression. We read continually of his smile, of his waving his arms, and swaying his body, of converts half rising and failing to catch his eye. We have admirable descriptions of the tension of feeling in crowded meetings, while all are waiting for the first convert to rise, and the rapid succession of others, as the expectation that has blotted out all other considerations is fulfilled.

Again, all the familiar features of the psychology of crowds are there, the stories of scoffers whose individual resistance is borne down, the contagion of the movement and its overwhelming force, the meagreness of the theology, the crudity of belief; in short everything which distinguishes revivalism from the methods of Christ. For Christ always repressed emotion. When the woman cried out in the crowd, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee,' He quieted her with the words 'Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of

God and keep it.' He knew the exact value of the public professions of the man who declared he was ready to follow Him whithersoever He went. He checked the sentimentalism of the women who met Him on the way to Calvary. He distrusted crowds, knowing how the same impulse that will make them cry 'Hosanna' will lead them to shout 'Crucify,' when worked upon by agitators who know how to sway them. He insisted on quiet for His disciples, He demanded deep thought from His hearers, though He knew it would be unpopular, and would send them away murmuring at His sayings as impossible to listen to. He was rigorous in His selection of those who were to testify to Him publicly; He chose but few, and, with the exception of one short mission, designed, it would seem, as a part of their preparation, He subjected them to a long discipline of training before He allowed them to come before the world.

To point out the psychological laws according to which the Revival is working is not to deny the reality of its religion. These laws are merely generalisations of various methods of learning. The fact that the methods are particularly bad ones does not touch the spiritual reality that is apprehended by them. A wrong method of teaching arithmetic does not affect mathematical truth, and even from the worst teacher a boy will probably learn something of figures. So the grotesqueness of revival methods, and even the still more painful features that one sometimes notes, do not alter the fact that the Holy Spirit speaks within us in the voice of conscience, that we are made for God, and that communion with Him is possible in Christ; they do not affect the great questions of sin, of confession, of amendment, of duty, and, as has been pointed out, the Revival, inasmuch as it rests on these truths and deals with these matters, has had marvellous practical effect.

But, surely, this end, so good in itself, is being attained in the worst possible way, by methods discredited in education, by those used with extreme caution in medicine, and by those which are seen to have little value in politics.

No doubt people learn by forcible methods of violent appeals, but, as in the case of precocious children, at the expense of healthy development and sound growth after ; often at the cost of permanent injury through overstrain. The particularly unpleasant hard type of Christian often produced by those who rely on revivalism for bringing in the young, can surely not be entirely due to superficial causes and to mere suburbanity of manners.

Similarly, there is no doubt that many people are morally better for revivals, and lastingly so, but such reform is apt to be very unstable, and at best it does not tend to produce the type that has inherent powers of advance. Again, the value of action on crowds is small, and we have little evidence of the after history of all those conversions, the numbers of which are advertised so freely.

In criticising revivalism, however, we are confessing our own faults in the Church. Revivals come where she is weak, they appeal to classes whom she fails to serve, they spread in places where her organisation has broken down, they break out at times like the present, when she is enfeebled.

The Church seeks to build up the Christian life from infancy in harmonious growth, side by side with wisdom and stature. Where development is normal there may be a crisis ; where it is thwarted there may be need of conversion ; but these cases should be exceptional, and utmost care is needed that sick souls should live through such occasions in healthy surroundings.

Similarly there is a place for the influence of repetition, of expectation, and of gesture. The *κύριε ἐλέησον* of the Greek liturgy, the Ave Maria of the Rosary, the chorus of the Welsh hymn, testify to its naturalness, but our Church has a special fear that repetition will be vain. It is found, in the *Adeste Fideles*, in the *Agnus Dei*, in the refrain of the Easter hymn, in the Litany, but sparingly. The expectation that forms such a prominent feature in the Roman Mass, and serves to fuse the congregation into one while waiting for the sound that

announces the consecration, hardly appears in our offices. Gesture is recognised as a part of worship in our ritual, but there is a danger that it may cease to be an expression and become an opiate, so our Church has limited it, to satisfy the need but to restrain excess. The most elaborate ceremonial of our 'highest' Churches is restraint by the side of the revivalists' attitudes.

Lastly the sense of fellowship is recognised by public worship; but a congregation, unlike an audience, develops the individuality of each member, setting his feet in a large room, giving him a sense of his wider relations to his fellow men, of citizenship in a divine kingdom. To draw a parallel from music; the mass meeting, thrilled by the voice of the preacher, and responding to his every word, is like the organ, with its many pipes, obeying the will of the single man; but the worship of the Church is like the orchestra in which each player has his own part and his several instrument, and pours out his own music into the harmony of the whole; his own notes are enriched as they vibrate with the undertones of the others, and empty themselves to live a greater life in the chords built up by fellowship in sound.

We need, therefore, a deeper study of pastoral theology. We have the opportunities, but our work is starved from our unscientific methods. We want a far more serious consideration of the aims and schemes of Christian education; we want a far greater sense of liturgical fitness which will come, not by getting up details of ritual, but by studying the prayers of the past and the psychology of the present; and we want far more consideration of practical arrangement of our Churches and services, that common worship may be able to grow spontaneously, and to thrive.

CLEMENT F. ROGERS.

HIGHER RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

A curious anomaly of the present day is the religious education of the upper classes. There is no need to prove this anomaly; its existence is frankly admitted. The parents value education highly, and often make sacrifices to give it to their children. And they value religion. No English school dare omit 'Religious Instruction' from the time-table; yet the younger adults of all ages from twenty to forty acknowledge their deficiencies. The present writer has a large number of *geschwister*, cousins, friends and acquaintances. Some say they could not even teach in the Sunday School.

And here I may add that I do not intend in this paper to deal primarily with denominational teaching. Even those who reverence Sacramental truth may think we err when we concentrate our attention solely or too closely on these subjects. 'I bow my head,' quotes the Bishop of London, 'before the majesty of the truths we hold in common with the Nonconformists.' A teacher's and Churchman's heart will yearn towards those of his children whom he knows will not 'receive Church teaching at home'; yet he must be loyal to the trust which the parents repose in him. All that majestic body of truth, Old Testament history and Gospel narrative, are the heritage of the entire Christian race. These can and should be taught generally.

I return to my starting point, the existent anomaly. There may be many reasons for its existence, there is one which sufficiently accounts for it. There is a want of gradual, progressive method in the religious instruction given. In every good school science, languages, mathematics are taught scientifically, that is to say gradually; the instruction given in one class forms a groundwork for that given in the next; it

would be impossible to reverse the order of the lessons. Yet this seldom holds good of religious teaching. It is a common thing in almost every school to find the fourth form studying a book of the Old Testament, the fifth, we will say, the Acts of the Apostles, the sixth, possibly, the Life of Christ. There is no inevitable connection between the subjects. Each individual lesson may be a very model of clearness and vigour; it may betray intense religious earnestness, but the teacher does not get a fair chance. True teaching consists in testing foundations, and building on those that are found sure. In this case, for want of any definite, recognized conception of religious education, a teacher is unable to test his pupil, to discover what point of comprehension or attainment the child has reached. The teaching, however good it may be, will fail to do its full work if the pupil does not see that each particular bit of the Bible is not only deeply interesting in itself, but is part of one great revelation of truth. A child's religious knowledge ought to resemble a well grown tree, carefully planted and trained, whereon, if new shoots are engrafted, they draw sap from the parent stock. Too often we have a child's garden stuck full of twigs and watered copiously with the hope, sometimes verified, that they will strike.

And here, I suppose, we touch the true religious and educational ground of our plea for more systematic teaching. Religion is to teach us to know God, with the heart first, but also with the mind. God did not hurl the truths about Himself at the world in miscellaneous fragments; He revealed Himself with scientific slowness. God taught mankind as they were able to bear it. As a matter of humility and commonsense we shall do well to follow the example set. We need to bring the whole of our religious teaching into touch with God's progressive revelation of truth. We need a definite school curriculum lasting over three, or preferably, five years. And it ought to need no *reductio ad absurdum* to prove that the order must be observed. The secondary teaching must not be given first.

Having stated the need for a definite system, it behoves us to define its scope. What are the things a Christian ought to know; what is needful, not only for his soul's salvation, but for his intellectual training and equipment?

The answer is three-fold. He should know what the Christian faith is. He should know the history of that faith. He should know the reason for the faith that is in him.

He should know what the Christian faith is. This is more uncommon than one would have fancied possible. 'I don't pretend to know much about Christian doctrine,' said a lady recently, 'but I consider Buddhism quite as Christian.' This remarkable statement proceeded from an educated woman and a communicant. After all it is not difficult to understand such views while we allow our teaching to be vague. Our friend, as she herself admitted, did not know the riches of her own inheritance. Christianity sets a standard, both for creed and character. Mind and heart may have been enriched unconsciously, but will and judgment had not been trained by a conscious study of that standard; nor had its proportions been revealed to her. Our Master's life is the ideal of character, and for the standard of faith we can take no other basis than the Apostles' Creed. It is the most Scriptural and the most widely accepted, a 'Creed common to all the Churches.'

It consists of the two great truths; the Trinity and the Incarnation; of a summary of our Lord's life and work (*i.e.*, of the Synoptic Gospels) and ends with five clauses which sound like echoes of the great discourses recorded by St. John. Teaching doctrine means, then, nothing else than preaching the Gospel, and that in the old Evangelical sense.

We start, then, with the Creed as our basis. Courses on the Creed are not uncommon, we want something much broader than that. We want to bring the whole of our religious teaching into touch with God's progressive revelation of the truth.

The following attempt at a tabular scheme is the result of many years of thought and search. It may lead the way to something better than itself.

I. Children under twelve: Doctrinal and Personal. The Apostles' Creed. Stories from the Old Testament. The events which illustrate the Creed, *e.g.*, especially the events of our Lord's life.

II. From twelve to sixteen: Historical. The Old Testament; the life of our Lord; the story of the Acts and of the Church, bringing its history, if time allow, down to the death of the first British martyr in the year 303.

III. From sixteen onwards: Fundamental.

(a) Religious ideas among the Jews. God. Jehovah. Sacrifice. The Messiah.

(b) Religious ideas among the Apostles. The Fatherhood. The Trinity. Christ. The Church of God.

(c) The Record of Religious Ideas. Some account of how we get our Bible.

The only claim made for this scheme is that it attempts to lay foundations, to instil and expound deep truths, and shows their application to the facts of life. Here I can only briefly sketch what graduated teaching could be thus made subservient to a single truth. I will take the great doctrine of the Providence of God. It is essentially Christian; all believers hold it, and it proved fertile under the old Dispensation. Any child can learn to believe in a God watching over him, ordering his daily life. Any child can hear the story of the Lord God planting a garden for man to walk in, letting him till the ground and name the animals. All children love hearing about Joseph and Daniel, and that tale of breathless interest, the Flight into Egypt. In their teens, children appreciate history, and can be shown how God prepared for Christianity by events which were happening in the Pagan world as well as in Judæa. The old stories are no longer fragments or single gems, but links in a chain. Make full use of kindred subjects, such as Egyptology and Assyriology; let children know that the bricks of Egypt confirm the story of Moses and the taskmasters. Anthropology teaches the same lesson of how God prepared

for Christianity, with its records of the instincts and the human heart, of the belief in prayer, the expectation of a Redeemer. The history of the inspired writings is eloquent of the same lesson, no matter how we read the word 'inspired.' And finally, scientists have lately made their recognition from their own standpoint, not only of a Creator, but also of a Providence. 'Do not be afraid of free-thinking,' said Lord Kelvin; 'if you think strongly enough you will be forced by science to a belief in God.' 'Keep firm hold,' said the late Duke of Argyll, in a lecture entitled *What is Science?* 'of the truth which establishes an inseparable unity between the processes of growth or development and the workings of a Living Will.'

And this brings me to my last point. The system involves considerable study, wide and deep reading. The question of books must be considered later; that which forces an immediate answer runs thus: 'Who is to give this teaching?' I do not think that any definite improvement in our religious secondary education can be expected until a highly trained religious specialist is a recognised part of the school staff. There is something amateurish, after all, in expecting every certificated class teacher to play the part of religious instructor. 'I wonder,' said an American woman to her friend, 'that you do not apply for the post of theological teacher in one of your High Schools.' 'I never heard of such a post,' replied the English woman. I do not think the implication was that such posts were rife in America, but, since the English indulged in religious teaching, it was taken for granted that the teaching would be thorough, and appointments provided for trained mistresses. In boys' schools, possibly such an innovation might settle the much vexed question as to whether or no the headmaster must of necessity be in Holy Orders.

E. WIGRAM.

GAMBLING AMONG STREET TRADING BOYS.¹

This paper is in no sense meant to be exhaustive ; it is designed to call attention to a serious source of weakness in a municipal community, rather than to discuss the evil in all its bearings.

Street trading lads are not all drawn from a single class. The boys who sell newspapers in the suburbs during their spare hours, when work or school is over, hold a different place in the social scale from those who hawk their goods, be these papers, flowers, or novelties, in the main thoroughfares and throughout the whole day. The suburban trading boy supplements the family earnings in a creditable way, nor does he intend to let the street life take the place ultimately of regular employment. His trading is merely a *πάρεργον*, and neither his father nor himself would wish him to pursue it as the main source of his livelihood.

The regular trader, however, is one who has tasted the sweets of an occupation which is not arduous, which not only supplies him with ample resources to keep body and soul together, but leaves a good margin of time and money for amusement and gambling. The excitement and incident of street life is attractive to a restless nature, and at length the sense of freedom which it entails becomes essential to the spirit which chafes at control.

It is amongst this class of lad that the gambling habit has taken its firmest hold. His temperament, his unsettled life, and the fact that his earnings are often far in excess of his

¹ The forms which this evil takes, and the conditions under which it is prone to arise, naturally vary from place to place : this paper is designed to reflect its main features in the district of Manchester.

expenditure upon the essentials of life, make him a ready prey to its fascinations. His mode of living is primitive. For food he will probably be satisfied with two meals a day, a late breakfast and supper, and each will cost 4d. The usual charge for lodging is 4d. a night, and even this is subject to a further reduction if the bed is booked and paid for some days in advance. Clothes are so occasional an extravagance that they may safely be ignored.

So much for the outlay. The income will, of course, vary between the widest limits. We have known a youth make £2 in a single afternoon. This was at the time of the South African War, when the sale of enamel buttons, embellished with the photograph of a British general, was well-timed to meet the popular enthusiasm. But such an income is quite exceptional and 2s. or 3s. a day, or 14s. a week may be taken as a fair average if the lad plies his trade with any degree of diligence.

Upon such an estimate there is a surplus of 7s. to be accounted for, and it will invariably be found that the greater part is squandered in amusement and gambling. Of systematic saving there is practically none, and the other forms of expenditure are too spasmodic to take into serious account. The cheap theatre and the music hall offer great attractions, and a lad will go night after night to a variety entertainment, or a play, which has struck his fancy. At the rate of 3d. a night he will easily spend 1s. a week in this diversion. The remaining 6s. will almost certainly be spent in some form of gambling, and as the man with whom the transaction takes place belongs to another class, and is in the main shrewd and experienced in the profession he pursues, the money is more generally lost than won.

The street boy is an inveterate gambler. His existence is insipid, and he craves for excitement. If he cannot satisfy his longings in a lawful way he will do so in violence to the law, and regardless of a ruinous end. He is reckless to a degree,

and generous to a fault, and will seldom be found to grumble at his lot even when fortune resolutely turns her back on him. We could multiply illustrations of each quality but space limits us to these few. A boy entered a common lodging house, and when he had eaten a hurried supper he gave himself up to a certain game of chance. He began with three shillings, and lost them all. As he turned to go out he was met at the door, and asked what he purposed to do. 'Sleep on the Infirmary flags,' he said. In reply to the further question whether he did not think he had acted like a fool, he retorted, 'No, I knew the risk I ran, and I had the excitement: it was worth it.'

Another lad was persuaded for some weeks to save his earnings, and left them untouched until he had twenty shillings in reserve. At length his resolution broke down, and drawing out the whole sum he set off for the Liverpool races, where every penny was lost. He tramped back to Manchester on foot, and wandered about in a starving condition until he had sold sufficient papers to procure a meal. But his hardships taught him no prudence. The money lost was as nothing when weighed against the wild and feverish excitement.

Large sums are often staked with an astonishing, and almost a grand, recklessness. One lad, by a steady run of luck, won £20 at Newmarket. Not content with his exceptional fortune, he placed every penny upon a horse in the final race, and lost all. He faced his misfortune calmly, and merely remarked that if he had won, he would have cleared about £100. A strange philosophy of their own reconciles them to every misfortune, and the very uncertainty of their life nerves them against becoming a prey to despondency.

As we remarked above the picture is not all shadow, and there are some touches of light which look the brighter for their dark setting. Often in a low lodging house, when a hungry looking stranger enters and prepares to go supperless to bed, you may see a young fellow draw his knife across the centre of his plate, dividing its contents, and giving the one half to the man who is 'down on his luck.'

Some of these incidents are very touching, and the absolute unconsciousness of merit in the actors renders the spontaneous generosity the more remarkable. On one occasion a worthless man had been released from gaol, and a street lad bought him a barrow, and stocked it with all things needful for the hawker's trade. By promptly pawning the lot and leaving the neighbourhood the man proved himself void of the least spark of humanity. The lad, however, made no complaint: to use his own words 'he did his best for a mate, and that's all a fellow can do.' He may be seen to-day upon the streets of Manchester; a rough-looking, and perhaps to casual eyes, a bad specimen of humanity; evidently that was his own impression of himself when he once declared that he was not good enough to be a Christian. Nevertheless we have a suspicion that the chilly, respectable, and selfish spirit of many of us who lightly profess to bear the name to which he would lay no claim, contrasts harshly with his ready generosity. Perhaps if some of us would adopt any other name than that of Christian, the day when a real Kingdom of Christ shall be universally established, and the meaning of His mission better known, will draw indefinitely more near.

It is astonishing how firm a grip the gambling spirit gains upon these lads: once the fatal habit is formed, its fascination is more relentless than the craving for drink or opium. A position was recently procured for a boy who seemed to wish for a more settled life. His benefactor sought and found employment for him on a vessel going to South America. When he was told of the new prospect he looked up, and shook his head reluctantly, saying, 'Thank you, Mr. —, but I am afraid I cannot go. I cannot stop gambling; I absolutely cannot, so it is no use trying.'

With the lower strata betting is done chiefly upon 'pitch and toss,' 'nap,' 'banker,' various card games, and dominoes; the last being by far the most common means. With working boys in permanent positions it is most usual to stake money upon football matches or horse races. A regular trade in

football bookmaking is unhappily becoming very general among quite small boys, who carry on their negotiations with a businesslike regularity. The casual newspaper sellers, whom we have previously mentioned as devoting their spare hours to the trade, have peculiar facilities for this kind of amateur book-making, and they are among the most frequent culprits.

The *modus operandi* is simple. The boy buys a small book, and when any great match is about to be contested, he draws up a table of thirteen imaginary results, he will then go round to his friends and offer to bet, say 12 to 1, upon any of these results. The friend chooses the result he thinks the most hopeful and pays a penny for the chance. In this way thirteen pay their pennies. Only one of the results can be correct, and the winner receives twelve pence, while the youthful book-maker pockets the remaining penny. In one sense he has not gambled at all, for his gain was a certainty, and he ran no risk. If he lacked caution, however, and thought that he could reckon upon a certain result being impossible, he might take several bets upon *one* number, and as the impossible sometimes happens, he might find that he had to pay several shillings where he would only receive pence. The result is disastrous, and it is in such ways as these that many respectable boys bring themselves into trouble and disgrace. Only three weeks ago a small boy bitterly confessed that he dare not go home, because he had lost all his week's wages through gambling.

How to stem this evil stream is a perplexing problem which many have sought, and are seeking, to solve. It is often easier, to say how an end can not be attained than to give positive directions for its accomplishment. Certainly one of the most unpromising methods, and one which is frequently tried by those who work amongst this class, is to point out that the bookmakers, who cater for the gambler's vice, are evil and unscrupulous men to be studiously shunned. It is well to remember that boys are not accustomed to make fine analyses of the morals and motives which give rise to the complex

actions of humanity. Their judgment is ready and rough, and failing to see the deeper issues involved, they will think to themselves, and may even bluntly say, that the bookmaker is not a bad man: he is honest; he pays up what he owes; and he is generous. Perhaps the memory of some assistance willingly offered to a family in distress will flash into the lad's mind in disastrous contrast to a cold refusal of help from some more respectable member of society living in the same street.

But the gambling spirit must be met. Its results are too serious to be ignored. It strikes at the foundations of society, and produces a profitless citizen. It relaxes the moral fibre of its devotees; it creates a distaste for steady work, and by diminishing his capacity for foresight and prudence, renders him the slave of every passing fancy and circumstance. To rightly attack the evil, however, one must discover where its attraction lies, and the readiness with which it is welcomed will, in the majority of cases, be found due to the intolerable dullness of the victim's life. Those who have never had the opportunity of enjoying the more stable pleasures of existence, turn instinctively to any possible excitement which promises to break the monotony of their lot. Thus the first step in the prevention of this vice must be the supply of higher interests; and to this task the lads' clubs and various other agencies address themselves.

Education is a more powerful factor than is commonly supposed in this connection. It is a matter of fact that the great majority of boys who make their living on the street have failed to pass the sixth standard. There is a decided reluctance among the larger employers of labour to engage boys who have not advanced beyond the fifth, and there is often but little alternative for the boy who has been a failure at school. And in addition to this, the way in which such a boy employs the little knowledge he has acquired tends still further to degrade him, for his ability to read frequently serves him no better purpose than to saturate his mind with the coarse and sensational literature which pours like a flood over the lower

parts of every large city, and is a disgrace to our civilization, and a menace to our morals.

The militia draws many street traders into its ranks, and strangely enough they seem to enjoy this mode of life. It would perhaps be well if school authorities were to bear this fact in mind, and supplement the school work, which proves so irksome to boys whose powers of mental application are small, with plenty of manual teaching and physical exercise.

Finally, the punishment for gambling should be made more severe. At present there is too little discrimination in the sentences against juvenile offences. It is absurd to give a boy seven days' imprisonment for obstruction, which often only consists in the somewhat harmless offence of standing with two or three other boys inactive at a street corner, and to make another boy, caught in the act of gambling, suffer no greater penalty. The boyish sense of fairness revolts at the injustice, and it is but natural that he should reason that he may as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb, and that he shapes his life accordingly.

H. J.

MONTHLY STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ST. MARK.—(Continued.)

The Withered Hand healed on the Sabbath Day (iii. 1-6).

It would appear that by this time it was fully recognised that Jesus' treatment of the Sabbath day was marked by a freedom which contrasted strikingly with the cramped rules of the Scribes and Pharisees, and this was the ground upon which His enemies tried on this occasion to work his overthrow. There is something peculiarly and almost incredibly objectionable in the special form which they permitted their opposition now to take. In the near neighbourhood stood a poor fellow whose hand was withered by a malignant disease, and the Pharisees were watching to see if Jesus would heal him. They vainly thought to do God a service, and to honour His law, by delaying the man's recovery until the Sabbath was passed.

To us it may seem that only a definitely conscious opposition to every principle of righteousness, and every impulse of compassion, could find its issue in so inhuman an act, but if we so think we are in danger of missing a lesson which needs constant application. We to-day are human as the Pharisees were human, and their strange behaviour should fill us with a wholesome distrust in ourselves, and teach us to keep an open mind for all that is pure and true, and to welcome everything that tends to promote the welfare of man and enlarge his capacity, from whatever source this help may come. God had revealed to the Jews the physical relief, and the spiritual refreshment, of the Sabbath rest, and after long discipline

they learned the value of the revelation. Again He sought to extend their lesson and correct their abuse of His gift, but because He did this in a way they failed to recognise as His operation, they opposed His purpose and turned what was meant for a blessing into a curse.

Jesus sees the critical glances levelled at Him by the little group of His opponents, and He perceives the thoughts which prompted them. He elects to heal the man publicly, and make his case the opportunity for teaching an important lesson. In another place He had said that the sin of anger was the same in kind, though less grievous in degree, than that of murder; here, too, He as plainly regards the failure to save a life, where its salvation was possible, as none other in principle than to kill. Nay, He went further. As the disease of one member was a step on the road to death, that is to the cessation of the activities of the whole body, so to refuse to heal is the equivalent in its degree of the will to kill. But the Pharisees were doing even worse than this, they were actually watching to prevent another from healing the man. They refused to do active good on the Sabbath day, and yet they did not forbear to be active in the prosecution of a heartless work. Jesus looked around, burning with indignation at the evil which the self-constituted judges proposed to do to the sick man; but even then His anger was tempered with compassion as He grieved over the dulness which blinded these men to a larger and happier view of life.

Once again had the new Teacher swept aside rules and conventions which clashed with essential principles, and once again had His teaching undermined the authority of the Pharisees, whose next step is the gauge of their antipathy. For they allied themselves with the supporters of Herod Antipas, the representative of foreign oppression. So is it always a sign of spiritual weakness when a man turns to the arm of flesh to suppress the exponent of a new and unwelcome truth.

The Enthusiastic Crowds and the Call of the Twelve (13-19).

In refreshing contrast to the ungenerous attitude of those who should have led the popular mind, stands the warm eagerness of the people themselves. A crowd is quickly moved to excitement, enthusiasm, or wrath; they act on the impulse of the moment whether it is for good or for evil. Here they are seen on their brightest side. The rumours of Jesus' mission must have made a remarkable impression, for His fame had spread far to north and south: from the heights of Judæa and Jerusalem; from Edom and the regions beyond Jordan, and from Tyre and Sidon, the mercantile centres in the north, the expectant crowds joined the people of Galilee in their effort to see Him about Whom they had evidently heard the wildest reports.

Perhaps it was because the Pharisaic hostility threatened His arrest in the narrow, crowded streets of Capernaum that Jesus was minded to reach the open sea shore, where He would be surrounded by friends. At any rate it was thither that he turned, and so eager were the crowd, and so possessed of the idea that a mystic virtue would proceed from Him to heal all who could but touch Him, that the crush threatened to injure Him. The Greek is very expressive, 'they were falling upon Him.' In view of the danger He ordered a light boat—not one of the heavy fishing craft—to be in attendance upon Him. As He moved along the beach, the cobble kept close at hand in readiness; although apparently He had no occasion to use it.

But Jesus distrusted crowds, and it was not long before He withdrew to the mountain alone. St. Mark has here dropped a thread which we may, with advantage, pick up from St. Luke, where we learn that Jesus 'went up into the mountain to pray; and He continued all night in prayer to God.' There is something singularly impressive in the thought of this night-long prayer before the call of the twelve into a closer companionship, and their commission to a more

definite service. 'A way was prepared in that night of prayer upon the hills whereby an organic life was imparted to the little community.'¹

The Charge of Casting out Devils by the Prince of Devils (20-35).

This is a solemn passage, and one which has suggested terrible fear to many an introspective mind. It needs to be well understood, and its warnings must be read in close connexion with their context.

According to St. Luke we learn that, between this event and the call of the twelve, Jesus had delivered a series of discourses bearing a remarkable resemblance to those which are collected into one place in St. Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. After this He had probably returned to Capernaum, where the fears of the religious leaders were now thoroughly aroused, and scribes had come down from Jerusalem with the express purpose of suppressing a Teacher who had no credentials.

Jesus' family had sore misgivings as to where His imprudence, as they must have considered it, would lead Him. They noticed with growing alarm the high pitch of the popular enthusiasm, and the formidable character of the opposition which had now apparently enlisted the support of eminent men from Jerusalem itself. They thought their kinsman was mad, and sought to withdraw him by force. But in the meantime Jesus was engaged in a dispute with the Judæan scribes, who had preferred against Him the serious, and intrinsically improbable, charge that by the prince of the devils He was casting out devils.

Their powerful preconceptions, and their hostility to the thought that any fresh light or revelation from God could be needed by those who possessed and guarded His law, drove them to seek some explanation for many remarkable instances of cure, which had been wrought so publicly that they could not

¹ Latham. *Pastor Pastorum.*

be denied ; and, in particular, for the recent incidents of the healed demoniacs. The argument which occurred to them seemed to do more than accomplish this purpose, for while it appeared to remove any claim that Jesus might have had to respect, it proved Him to be in league with the prince of the demons himself.

In His reply Jesus demonstrates the absurdity of the charge. The prince of demons might indeed order his subordinates about for the better performance of his designs, but if one should arise whose every act is aimed against his authority and his operations ; who never loses an occasion to undo his work and lead men from under his thralldom, then it were folly and hopeless blindness to confuse his act with that of the prince of the demons. To think so showed a lack of all appreciation of moral values ; it showed an inability to distinguish right from wrong, even in their most strongly opposed forms ; it revealed a moral sense so diseased that it could entertain a blasphemous confusion between the operations of God and those of the devil. For them the Incarnation holds out no hope ; with wilful hands they close the shutters of their hearts to every ray of light from heaven ; they stand condemned by their own act to a state of absolute estrangement from God.

While the very anxiety which many have felt as they read these solemn words is a witness against their being in the hopeless state, the warning is so serious that it behoves us to examine our every thought and deed and ascertain whether we are in danger of following, even though it should be afar off, in the footsteps of the Pharisees. These are days of change, and transition times are always dangerous. Caution is needed before we accept whatever is new in thought, but, inasmuch as human nature is most conservative, extreme caution must be exercised before we reject and condemn.

ABOLITION OF TORTURE IN CHINESE TRIALS.

So fully has our attention been occupied with the Russian concessions of religious liberty in the West, and with the magnitude of the military operations in the East, that we are in danger of overlooking a most important edict which was recently cabled from Peking. This edict affects the mode of trial in China, and has for its object the prohibition of those methods of torture which have been handed down from time immemorial, and have made the name of the Chinese courts a reproach among the nations. It is, perhaps, this callousness to physical suffering which has formed one of the essential differences between East and West; just as it is, to a great extent, the feature which distinguishes modern from mediæval civilisation; and it is with unmixed pleasure that we see but another barrier removed.

The Chinese methods of trial sound humane, but in practice they are barbarous. For the natural outcome of the principle, that no man can be punished until he confesses his guilt, is to force an unwilling confession by dint of repeated torture. Justice is a farce when the prisoner is allowed to take no steps to vindicate his innocence, and when his denial of a crime is taken as a personal affront to the honesty of the judge. And yet this charge has but too frequently disgraced the name of Chinese justice.

It is a pitiful sight to see the poor wretches led into the camp day by day, and bullied to acknowledge a crime of which they often are innocent. Some writhe in the grip of the thumb-screw; others are beaten with bamboo rods until they scream in the excess of their pain, and yet others stand like human scarecrows with their thumbs stretched by means of thin

strong string to the two ends of a long pole. Indeed ingenuity has much scope in these tortures.

The punishment which generally follows confession is death, and the very love of life makes a man cling long to a wretched existence. Day after day, month after month, and sometimes year after year, they stoutly deny the charge, until at length resistance yields to agony, and with feelings almost akin to joy the vanquished creature is led forth to execution.

All this is happily abolished now, but how far the abolition extends to the punishment of torture subsequent to conviction it is difficult to say; time will show. At least we know of one form of cruel death which has been forbidden, and this is that which is technically called Ling-chi, or death by a thousand cuts; each cut designed to produce torture, but carefully calculated to avoid a prematurely fatal issue.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ASCENSION.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE INTERPRETER.'

Sir,—As regards the contention that the Ascension (or the definite departure from the earth) of our Lord is, in the third Gospel, fixed to the first Easter Day, is not this irreconcilable with the well-founded belief that this account was written by St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul? For, in I. Cor. xv., it is, I suppose, practically impossible to place both the appearances to the Apostles generally on the day of the Resurrection, and quite out of the question that there should have been time to assemble the '500 brethren' on that day. And it seems wholly improbable that there should have been such discrepancy between the two friends on a point which must have been well known to many—especially when the sources of their information would naturally be the same or similar. If the account (in outline) of the Ascension formed a part of the 'catechetical instruction' in the main facts of Christianity referred to, for instance, by St. Luke (i. 4)—as seems plain from the allusions which are cited from St. Paul's Epistles in your most

valuable article, and from other indications—it would hardly occur to the Evangelist (who did not write with the anxious preciseness of the 19th or 20th century, but like other ancient historians) to guard against a misconception which was practically quite improbable—and there seem to be one or two natural, or possible, breaks towards the end of the chapter.

So that there appears to me to be no difficulty in assenting to the common-sense opinion of Professor Blass, that, while St. Luke may well have obtained fuller information after he wrote the Gospel, ‘Satis haec [Acts i. 9] conveniunt cum breviori narratione Lc. xxiv. 49. sqq.; etenim si quis scriptorem coram interrogare possit, neget atque perneget se unquam vel scripsisse vel cogitasse haec ipso resurrectionis die facta esse. Falsa specie ex brevitate narrandi orta ei qui hoc putant decipiuntur.”

Yours faithfully,

A. C. CHAMPNEYS.

ASCENSIONTIDE CUSTOMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF ‘THE INTERPRETER.’

Sir,—The last number of ‘The Interpreter’ contains an article on Old English Ascensiontide Customs.

It may interest some of your readers to know that a somewhat curious, and, so far as I know, unique custom is observed in The Close of Lichfield Cathedral on Ascension Day.

Early in the morning the choristers deck the outside of the principal houses in The Close with branches of elm, which they have gathered overnight. After Morning Service, accompanied by some of the Cathedral Clergy, the boys in their surplices walk round the bounds of The Close, which for civil purposes is a separate Parish. At certain stages, eight in number, a halt is made, at each of which the Gospel for the day is read, and one or more verses of a hymn sung. After leaving the last of these stages, the Pump in The Close, the Old Version of The Hundredth Psalm is sung in procession as they walk to the Cathedral, and is finished at The Font, on the steps of which, after Prayers and the Blessing, the boughs which the choristers have carried are placed.

Yours faithfully

JOHN G. LONSDALE

The Close, Lichfield,
May 16th, 1905.

REVIEWS.

Christ and Criticism.¹ By JOHN GAMBLE, M.A. This

book supplies a want. It is a *resumé*, clear, terse, and readable, of what Biblical criticism has done here and in Germany during the last century. Mr. Gamble is not afraid of Biblical criticism, unless it is rash and arbitrary; he believes that the faith of Christendom shines forth all the brighter, when freed from accretions of human fallibility. He has grasped the distinction, important in Revelation as in all knowledge, between what is relative and what is absolute, between what is ethical and what is merely extraneous. On the mystery of Christ's Resurrection he notes the silence of Revelation as to the manner of the transition from earthly life to the heavenly (p. vii.). Whether or not St. Paul wrote this or that epistle he puts by as unimportant: 'We accept the Apostle's words, not merely 'because they are his words' (p. 29). In speaking of the different meanings in the different Gospels of 'the Kingdom of Heaven,' it is inadequate to say that 'they are not mutually exclusive of 'one another' (p. 27): they are rather different aspects of one thing. 'Mind is not the equivalent of 'Logos' in the Fourth Gospel' (p. 96): again, 'if the mind is changed' (p. 118) should be 'the Will.' In tracing the development of the conception of God, Mr. Gamble omits the revelation in the Gospel of God as Father; and in seeking, with Harnack, the 'essence of Christianity' he seems not to know that it is self-sacrifice.

College and Ordination Addresses.² By FORBES ROBIN-

SON. There is cause more than enough for the cry rising on every side, that there are far too many Memoirs and Biographies. Yet there is room for one like this, the faithful record of a faithful life. Mr. Forbes Robinson, a young Cambridge don, of Christ's College, exercised a very remarkable influence for good on all who were near him, especially undergraduates. Anyone who knows undergraduate life, knows the shyness and distrust which too often make a gulf between tutor and pupil. But Forbes Robinson not only had a singularly sympathetic and affectionate nature, but

¹ *Christ and Criticism.* By JOHN GAMBLE, M.A. 3s. 6d. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co.

² *College and Ordination Addresses.* By FORBES ROBINSON. Edited by Charles H. Robinson. 3s. 6d. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

realised, as Christians sometimes fail to do, the value beyond price of each immortal soul and the tie which binds Christians together in Christ. No one we are told could be near him, without being lifted up to a higher life. The Addresses are, as one would anticipate, persuasively earnest in their affectionateness: they are real and practical. After all, the personality of the preacher counts for more than the words spoken.

The Coming of the Friars, and other Historic Essays.¹ By AUGUSTUS JESSOP, D.D. This re-issue of a deservedly popular book is welcome. Those who handle history 'scientifically' are apt to decry books on the subject of a type less rigidly precise. Yet even fragmentary sketches, or glimpses such as clever novelists give into history, vivify the more prosaic pages of scientific history and help the reader to realise the state of things there recorded. They bring the atmosphere, without which the painting wants colour and life. Indeed, Dr. Jessop by no means scorns accuracy: he bases what he tells on chapter and verse in old documents, carefully verified. That he knows how to make the dry bones live and move is something gained. Not many are able to combine so effectively the research into musty parchments with a style readable and always interesting.

One is often reminded in reading Dr. Jessop of Charles Kingsley or of Cobbett; there is the same vivacity, the same earnestness: but Jessop is not so easily carried away by a favourite theory; he tries to be, and is, fair all round, and hesitates to dogmatise overmuch. For example, though he shews that sympathy with the monastic system, without which none can estimate it fairly, he has a shrewd eye for the faults and follies of the cloister. Generally he goes very thoroughly into monastic life; but in his sketch of the earlier days of monasticism in England he omits mention of Dunstan's attempt at reformation; and in describing the Benedictine rule he omits an important characteristic of the founder's prescience, that Benedict preferred deans to a prior under the abbot. To say (p. 132) that the Norman Conquest did not increase among monks the love of study is a strange misreading of history. The Norman Conquest brought them into closer contact with continental learning and exercised a civilising influence. It is hardly true that part of the vocation of a monk was 'to make the men of the world holier than they cared to be' (p. 280).

The other essays, which follow *The Coming of the Friars* are *Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery*; *The 'Black Death' in East*

¹ *The Coming of the Friars*, and other Historic Essays. By AUGUSTUS JESSOP, D.D. 15th Impression. 3s. 6d. London: Fisher Unwin.

Anglia; The Building up of a University; and last, but not the least, The Prophet of Walnut Tree Yard, Lodowick Muggleston, Founder of the Mugglestonian Sect.

It is a pity that one who can write so well sometimes allows himself slipshod, jesty, colloquialisms—for instance, 'he was down in 'his luck,' and 'they put the screw on' (p. 225). Now and then one cannot but notice traces of haste or carelessness. On the same page (p. 76) we find 'Sir Richard Butler' and 'Sir Richard le Butler'; on p. 171 'Giovanne' for 'Giovanni'—'Aquila' for the east wind on our Eastern Counties (p. 211)—'Convents,' evidently a misprint for 'Converts' (p. 329)—'stamina . . . has' (p. 294); and a hybrid name, 'Stephen de Emsa.' The habit of Anglicising foreign names and titles is not peculiar to Dr. Jessop. On the whole he merits many thanks for a book equally entertaining and instructive.

It is announced that the **Life of Father Dolling** is to be brought out in a 6d. edition (complete as to matter) by Messrs. Newnes, for the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

BOOKS RECEIVED.¹

The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus found in 1903, with the sayings called 'Logia' found in 1897. A lecture by the Rev. CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D. 2s. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Truth in Conflict with the Creeds. By T. A. BOWMAN. 3s. 6d. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.

How Christ Saves Us, or the Gospel of the Atonement. By the Rev. JAMES M. WILSON, D.D., Canon of Worcester, late Archdeacon of Manchester. 6d. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹ Mention of books under this heading does not preclude a subsequent review.

The Interpreter.

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